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Captain Conway's Inventory

LOUISE BIRD RALSTON

In May of this year the Old Barracks at Trenton will be two hundred years old. Construction of the building was started on May 31, 1758, having been authorized by an act of the Assembly of April 15, which provided for the erection of five barracks, one each in Trenton, Burlington, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown, and Perth Amboy, to stop the intolerable British practise of billeting soldiers on private families.

Many people over many years may be thanked that the Trenton Barracks remains today the best-known landmark of the state. Each of the barracks had its own vicissitudes, when its usefulness ended at the close of the Revolution, and all except the one at Trenton came gradually or quickly to destruction.

The Old Barracks Association which, by agreement with and deed to the state of New Jersey, has control and management of the Trenton Barracks, will celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary by an Open House Day on Tuesday, May 6, to which the public is cordially invited. The Association wishes also to honor at this time several New Jersey citizens, now deceased, whose interest and whose action saved the building from going the way of the other four barracks.

The first person to call attention to the historic importance of the building was General William S. Stryker, in an address en-

The Writer: Mrs. Ralston, a Trentonian, is the author of one earlier Proceedings contribution, "The Old School House in Mount Holly" (1954).

titled "The Old Barracks at Trenton, New Jersey," given before the New Jersey Historical Society at Trenton on January 20, 1881. It was Mrs. Samuel Duncan Oliphant, Sr., who, when the southern section of the building came up for sale in 1899, conceived the idea of buying it and making it into a museum. With the help of several other women she formed a Purchase Fund Committee, which by 1902 raised the then tremendous sum of $6,314.20, thus taking the first and most important step in preservation. The other members of the Purchase Fund Committee are also deserving of remembrance: Mrs. William S. Stryker, Mrs. Cornelius Hook, Miss Sarah M. Doughty, Mrs. Henry Jenkins, Mrs. Washington A. Roebling, and Mrs. James Buchanan Breese.

Nine years later, in 1911, when the state of New Jersey became interested in a restoration of the entire barracks, two men of great ability and devotion carried the plan through to completion. They were Adjutant General Wilbur F. Sadler, Jr., and the chancellor of New Jersey, Edwin Robert Walker, equally noted as a jurist and a historian.

At Chancellor Walker's death in 1932, some of his notes pertaining to the history of the barracks were given to the Old Barracks Association. With the help of the late Carlos E. Godfrey, director of the state Public Records Office, Chancellor Walker had studied many sources, in the New Jersey archives and elsewhere, and had copied out all references to any of the five barracks. These notes have been used many times to establish facts about the Old Barracks at Trenton.

The spirit and the works of a true antiquarian live on to solve problems of many years later. Among the material left to the Old Barracks Association by Chancellor Walker was a typed manuscript, never published as far as is known, entitled "History of the Trenton Barracks (First Draft of the Narrative)." The last page gave several memoranda. The final one reads: "An inventory of the furniture, etc., found in the Amboy Barracks by Captain Conway when he took possession of the Barracks in 1776 is with the Stirling Papers in the New York Historical Society. (Reference Whitehead's History of Perth Amboy, 257.)"

The present-day problem which is about to be solved by this memorandum of Chancellor Walker is as follows: Certain visitors to the Old Barracks at Trenton are disappointed to find that its interior is not a replica of an eighteenth-century colonial barracks, furnished only with the necessities of a soldier's life.

The Old Barracks, however, in accordance with the intentions of those who preserved it, is a museum, in their words, "a repository for antique furniture and curios"; or, as the deed of February 10, 1914, between the Old Barracks Association and the state of New Jersey expresses it, "an historical landmark and repository." The Old Barracks was founded as a museum and will probably always be one, since funds are not available for a re-restoration of the Williamsburg type; nevertheless, the Association would very much like to indicate, at least, how the building looked when it was occupied by British colonial troops. For this purpose, and as a kind of two-hundredth birthday present to the building, the Association plans to have a diorama made, which will represent as on a tiny stage a scene in the Trenton Barracks in November, 1758, with the Inniskilling Regiment of Foot, the first soldiers to be quartered there, in residence. This plan was the suggestion of Mrs. Arlene Sayre of the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development.

A diorama, if it is to be useful, must be historically accurate. Research being necessary for the purpose, the Association turned to the notes of Chancellor Walker. The acts of the Assembly gave some clues. Each barracks must have "two substantial ladders and twenty leather buckets in case of fire." For each barracks also the Assembly authorized the purchase of "bedding, blankets, fire wood and other necessaries." Each barracks must have a wood-yard, and the exact weekly allowance of firewood for every twelve men was carefully stated, as was the amount for the commanding officer, chaplain, surgeon, captains, and subalterns, with the guard room getting double the allowance of the subalterns. Provision by the legislature for sale and renting of the barracks in peace-time spoke of selling "sundries" and "perishable furniture."

Details were lacking, however, until the memorandum by

Chancellor Walker, mentioned above, was discovered. This note, which pointed to William A. Whitehead's. *Eairly History of Perth Amboy,* published in 1856, which in turn pointed to the Stirling Papers, has made the way plain.

The librarian of the New-York Historical Society has now supplied the Old Barracks Association with a photostatic copy of Captain Conway's inventory of the Amboy Barracks on December 17, 1755:

Inventory of the Beds, Blankets and other Furniture at the Barracks of Perth Amboy Viz:

Oznabrigs[1] Bed Ticks	87
do Bolsters	84
Blankets about ¼ worn	57
do ½ do	96
do ⅔ do	9
do ¾ do	3
Tables	28
Benches or Forms	27
Hand Irons[2] 22 pr for private rooms, 4 pr Officers do	26 pr:
Shovels, large 15, small do 7	22
Tongs large—17, small do 6	23
Trammels	23
Iron Pots	28
do Kettles	14
Chairs	34
Flesh forks	19
Wooden Bowls & platters	27
do Trenchers	94
Leather fire Buckets	11
Iron Candlesticks	9
Tubs	13
Buckets, Wooden	19

[1]*Oxford Universal Dictionary*: "Osnabrig (F. Osnabruck in North Germany), a kind of coarse linen originally made in Osnabruck." See also George Francis Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (Topsfield, Mass.), pp. 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 168.

[2]*Oxford Universal Dictionary,* under "andiron," notes spellings "and-iron" and "hand-iron." See also Dow, p. 225.

Cross cut Saws	2
Axes	8
Dust Boxes	9
Round Bottles	9
Grindstone	1

N:B: The Ticks and Bolsters are many of them much worn, Hand Irons several pair much burnt, some shovels broke, some Tables & benches without legs, several of the Tubs and Buckets faling to pieces for want of coopering, some Axes without helves, several Chairs without bottoms, and the Furniture in general in poor order; ..... Repairs of the births, glazing, mending the wood Yard and Chimneys to be swept immediately.

I do Certify the above to be a true Estimate of the Furniture and state of the Barracks at Perth Amboy

JOHN CONWAY

Since the Trenton and the Amboy barracks, as well as the other three, were authorized by the same act of the Assembly in 1758, and since all five were grouped in every subsequent act or authorization, it is a safe assumption that they were furnished with similar, or even identical "necessaries." Styles in furnishings would hardly change in seventeen years of occupancy by colonial troops; so an inventory of 1775 should hold for 1758.

Whitehead commented (page 257) on Captain Conway's inventory: "The minuteness with which he details the various articles, when the worthlessness of some of them is considered, is somewhat amusing." To a twentieth-century committee, striving to recreate a life-like, accurate scene of royal troops in the barracks in 1758, this minuteness of Captain Conway is most welcome.

Before this two-hundredth anniversary year of the Trenton Barracks is over, it is the hope of the Old Barracks Association to display in its museum a diorama of an interior scene in the barracks in 1758, and if this provincial scene is vivid and correct, it will be due to the careful scholarship of two illustrious nineteen-century New Jersey historians, William A. Whitehead and Chancellor Edwin Robert Walker.

Alexander Hamilton In New Jersey

BROADUS MITCHELL

New Jersey may take special pride in the career of Alexander Hamilton, for his associations with this state were closer than with any other save New York. His life on the continent virtually commenced and closed on New Jersey soil. Jerseymen introduced him to America, and, ironically, it was a native of New Jersey who deprived America of his further services. Hamilton's co-operation with friends here could not have been so fruitful had not this state possessed patriots of unusual talents and devotion to match his own.

Before recalling the series of happenings that connect Hamilton with New Jersey it is proper to say briefly why we treasure this history. Why is the United States, by action of the President and Congress, and this state by proclamation of the governor, celebrating the two-hundredth anniversary of Hamilton's birth? It is desirable to dispel a misconception which, in the minds of many, has qualified his fame. All who have told his story, and the story of the beginnings of the nation, agree that he was endowed with the first order of intellectual faculties. Nor is the consistency or success with which he pressed his purposes in question. The divergence of views concerns the nature of his object. Dating almost from his earliest entrance as a public figure, his critics have contended that he was the masterful exponent of a disingenuous faction seeking to shape policies in a selfish behalf. His political enemies, while he was in the thick of momentous events, were naturally the most violent in declaring his unworthy designs. Since then, certain historians, reviewing those scenes, have sought to document this narrow conception of him. They have bolstered their estimate with sophisticated socio-

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logical interpretation. All readers are familiar with the impression which received new currency with the publication of Charles A. Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* more than forty years ago. Though Beard was obliged to exculpate Hamilton from mean personal incentive, Hamilton's reputation could not escape involvement in the thesis that the forefathers who fashioned our fundamental law were pocketbook patriots. When the government of the Confederation was threatened, or said to be threatened, with dissolution, these men improved the crisis to salvage privilege under the guise of disinterested national service. The charge enjoyed not only the benefit of a striking hypothesis, but was fastened by ingenious researches disclosing the particular property claims and prospects of those accused. The economic slant on history, then gaining in acceptance, recommended itself by its realism. It seemed to discredit, with hard facts, the romantic notion that the founders of our country were demi-gods actuated *pro bono publico*. Suspicion sustains itself among the sons of Adam, while gratitude and admiration require to be replenished. We are apt to protect our own conceit by intimating that those whose praises we sing had their demerits. Flaws of character are the common lot, and supplying our illustrious ancestors with clay feet somehow renders our own tread the cleaner and airier.

Those who choose to picture Hamilton as the champion of a class in American society have been assisted by several features of his life. He came to these shores a lad from a distant island, with slender resources, without family connection, and indeed an orphan with a stain upon his birth. What more to be expected than that he should promote his fortunes by fixing his eye on the main chance? Did he not attach himself to the person of the Commander-in-Chief during the Revolution, as staff aide, and then marry into the wealthy, powerful family of General Philip Schuyler, patroonish overlord of the upper Hudson? His tastes were refined; he always dressed handsomely, doubtless in the effort to offset his small physical stature. His inclinations were conservative; he made himself the willing mouthpiece of men of affairs in the commercial metropolis of New York. He was

by profession a lawyer, and moved in the milieu of precedent. Most of all, his official assignment was as head of the Treasury, where he could draw or loosen purse strings to the advantage of his political adherents, could slip privileged information to private friends and relations, and cover his manipulations with reports too deep and accounts too complicated for ready understanding.

This last thrust at Hamilton has lost its cutting edge, for we reflect that, managing millions of the public money, he left the Treasury a poor man, and that, after a quarter-century in the thick of politics, his opportunities had put so little in his pocket that he died insolvent. If anything more were needed, Washington's trust in Hamilton, when he departed the cabinet, was put in terms too impressive to permit of any man's doubt.

We shall do well to put aside any notion that Hamilton's career was self-serving. His personal ambitions were subordinate to the noble object of helping create a united, strong, expanding nation. This was his passion from an early period of the Revolution, and blended with his political and military efforts for independence. The Federalist party, for several years under his control, was to him an instrument to this end. When the party proved incapable or perverse he sacrificed it to what he held to be the country's good. If this writes me down as a romantic rather than a realist, I accept the character and am prepared to justify my faith with more citations and argument than I shall trouble you to hear. This is not to say that Alexander Hamilton was all virtue. A man of unusual energy of body, mind, and emotion, he fell into errors, yielded to infatuations, and at times followed courses which his own good sense corrected. In notable instances he endured, even invited humiliation in his repentance. His very lapses have their merit of changing him from a paragon into a personality. Otherwise, so steadfast was his devotion to the public benefit, telling his story would lose individuality, and be like chronicling the rise of America. Let me mention a single current item which applies to Hamilton along with the reputation of his compatriots. It is Robert E. Brown's analysis of the famous Beard thesis that the Constitution was a clandestine plot

of wealth against commonwealth.* This painstaking rebuttal convincingly restores patriots to our admiration.

Hamilton himself said, anticipating Lincoln, that the people in the end will not be deceived. National esteem for a historic figure, over the generations, is not apt to be mistaken. False report will not enlarge or diminish his stature. Thus we come to Alexander Hamilton as an American worthy of our gratitude, concerning whose life we cherish all that is recoverable. This bicentennial recollection is to be critical, not adulatory. We must try to treat him as he lived, the worse with the better. We must value his influence with its dangers as well as its wisdom. There is a certain timelessness in all creative minds and spirits. They speak to us from the grave. And yet I need not caution this audience that accuracy requires us to take our subject in his setting. Our appraisal will be accurate in proportion as we remind ourselves of our then stage of historical development, of the problems with which he was confronted.

So much said, we may find pleasure and profit in calling over Hamilton's principal connections with places, persons, and events in New Jersey. The roster is a full one, and exhibits many of the salient features of his career.

Our story begins about the time of his birth, when a young Scotch-Irishman of the name of Hugh Knox became a student in the College of New Jersey, then at Newark. Knox was a protege of John Rodgers, a minister of the "New Lights" (Whitefield) Presbyterian persuasion. Rodgers introduced Knox to the favor of President Aaron Burr. After Knox completed the academic course in the College he remained with Dr. Burr for an additional year of theological study. He was ordained and was dispatched by the New York Presbytery to the pastorate of the Dutch Reformed church in the tiny island of Saba in the Netherlands West Indies. Many years of isolation did not diminish his zeal in encouraging talent where he found it. When he transferred to the larger island of St. Croix, in the spring of 1772, his eye soon fell on the youthful clerk in the store of Nicholas Cruger. Alexander Hamilton was a boy to Knox's heart—ambi-

*_Charles Beard and the Constitution_ (Princeton, 1956).

tious beyond his cramped opportunities, eager of mind, and responsive to religious teaching. He had already contributed pieces to the local newspaper of which Knox became an occasional editor.

A description Alexander wrote, for his father, of the destructive hurricane of August was inspired by Knox's public sermon on the calamity. The clergyman showed it around and put it in his columns. Should not such a youngster be given the chance of an education on the continent? Friends rallied to the appeal for support and the promising protege was shipped off bearing letters to prominent Presbyterians in New York and New Jersey. As Alexander required preparation for college, William Livingston and Elias Boudinot of Elizabethtown became his sponsors in the academy of Francis Barber. These three Jerseymen were to recur repeatedly in Hamilton's history. They were to prove stout patriots all. Livingston's courageous, caustic pen had been busy for years in the service of liberty. Alexander, in associations with him, could not but have admired his literary taste and polemical skill. Boudinot was a warmer personality, as hearty and loyal a friend as ever was. His piety was a little overpowering, but from all we know Alexander at this stage was more than usually devout. Probably the young stranger from the West Indies enjoyed the hospitality of the Livingston and Boudinot homes. This meant he got the best introduction to principles and persons in America. It is a mistake to suppose that he found himself friendless in this new, large land. From the first he was fortunately shepherded, and he knew how to improve the opportunities offered him. Francis Barber was only a few years above Alexander's age. A Princeton graduate and gifted schoolmaster, he gave Hamilton his first formal instruction with maximum competence in minimum time. His best textbook was his own character, which was tested throughout the war in offices of responsibility and danger.

Others whom Hamilton knew at Elizabethtown need mention. The youth must have heard Rev. James Caldwell's sermon every Sunday, in which obligation to the public illustrated moral exhortation. Caldwell's subsequent complete martyrdom to the

Revolution requires only to be mentioned to be gratefully recalled. Then there was William Peartree Smith, living in the Belcher house immediately across the road from Boudinot's. This leisured lawyer had been Livingston's colleague in New York in newspaper thrusts at British ministerial authority and Anglican dominance in King's College. His daughter Cathy, for whom Alexander's studies may have allowed time, was to marry another of his friends, Elisha Boudinot. Probably in that small village Hamilton knew, or certainly knew of, Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, the clergyman of St. John's Episcopal church and soon the Loyalist pamphleteer whose polemics Hamilton would oppose. Chandler, a few years later, fled the American scene with President Myles Cooper of King's College, whom Hamilton, his pupil, saved from indignity if not from death at the hands of the Liberty Boys. Brockholst Livingston, then a student at Princeton, was Hamilton's age, and became his trusted brother at the bar of New York. The Livingston girls, a lively lot, were Alexander's companions and, perhaps, the means of his introduction, a few years afterward, to Betsey Schuyler. Our young sojourner in New Jersey must have been known to the members of the British garrison at Elizabethtown, for, already a facile penman, he composed prologue and epilogue for a play presented at the barracks.

With remarkable celerity young Hamilton prepared himself for college. Francis Barber sent word of this to Hercules Mulligan in New York. Mulligan was a business man who from the first had interested himself in Alexander's welfare. Alexander explained to Mulligan that he wanted to enter the College of New Jersey because it was "more republican" than King's, which was Anglican and Loyalist in character. So Mulligan and his charge posted to Princeton for an interview by President John Witherspoon. Some of you have perhaps been in the little study in the President's (now Dean's) home where Witherspoon examined the applicant orally and pronounced him fit. It was Alexander who attached a condition to his acceptance. Since he was older than most beginning students, and slender resources gave him reason for hurry, he wanted permission to pass through the

several classes as speedily as his industry would allow, without regard to the four-year schedule. Witherspoon felt he must refer this unusual request to the trustees. After some weeks he informed Mulligan, reluctantly, that such an expediting arrangement would not be possible. Princeton has had innumerable distinguished alumni. At that moment it missed the opportunity of another accolade. Of course no one then could foresee what this stripling, with his bold proposal, would achieve. But the episode may be a lesson to all in the hard-driven class of admissions officers: turn a student down if he is deficient in anything else except zeal.

The result was that Hamilton entered King's, more flexible than Nassau Hall, presumably in the summer or autumn of 1773. He was a special student, enjoying intensive tutoring of members of the faculty, and does not appear as a regular matriculate until 1774. After precocious part in discussions that preceded the Revolution he drilled as a volunteer, became captain of a New York provincial artillery company, his unit was taken into continental service, and he did not return to the New Jersey scene until the late autumn of 1776. This was in the anxious retreat of Washington, with his dwindling force, from the east bank of the Hudson to the west bank of the Delaware. Could Philadelphia be defended, or was it enough if Washington could salvage what remained of his army?

Cornwallis was pursuing. In a cannonade across the Raritan Hamilton's little battery lobbed some shot over the stream, remaning behind when Washington continued his retreat to Princeton. While Hamilton discharged his assignment "on the banks" with spirit, he was hardly the cause of halting Cornwallis as has been sometimes represented. Nobody seems to have been hurt on either side; his Lordship took his time about entering New Brunswick. We have an affecting picture of our young artillery captain approaching Princeton. Someone left an impression of his boyish, erect figure, hat pulled over his eyes, striding beside one of his guns and patting the barrel as though it were a treasured plaything.

My own industry is likely at fault in not finding contemporary documentary evidence of Hamilton's presence in the battles of

Trenton and Princeton, nor have I discovered reliable allusion to any. Maybe some member of the New Jersey Historical Society will confirm, beyond any doubt, the established tradition of his part in these victories. The story is that he ferried the Delaware when Colonel Knox bellowed the turn for his battery to embark, paused for brief recruitment at McKonkie's house, and trudged the frosty upper road to Trenton. There he planted his two cannon at the divergence of King and Queen streets, and banged away at the Hessians as they issued into the narrow thoroughfares. Then withdrawal with the prisoners over the Delaware, and soon return to Trenton and circumvention of the enemy for the assault on Princeton. Here a cannon ball glanced off the stone walls of Nassau Hall, where some hundreds of enemy had forted themselves. James Wilkinson left record that he and his horse were nearly killed by this missile. I am not sure but what a good deal of mischief in American military and political life subsequently would have been avoided had the ball been more providentially guided. Another shot pierced the structure, supposedly destroying a portrait of George II who was already safely dead. We do not know whether these balls were fired from Hamilton's guns. We do have dependable evidence of Hamilton's battery being at Pluckemin in the weary march to Morristown, where the army went into winter quatrers.

Here Hamilton was ill for a period, and no wonder when we consider the exhaustion of the campaign. It was one of several similar spells of disablement of which we have record, beginning in the West Indies. His physical stamina, always heavily taxed, was not equal to his nervous force. Determination drove him beyond the point where another would have let up in his exertions. In this interval, at Morristown, he seems to have improved the opportunity of enforced idleness to do some serious reading on commercial and other subjects, of which he took notes in blank pages of his artillery company pay book. This study, particularly of Postlethwayt's *Universal Dictionary of Trade,* was afterward drawn upon in his letters of James Duane and Robert Morris recommending reforms in the American government and economy.

Hamilton was invited by Washington to join his staff as aide-

de-camp with the rank of lieutenant colonel March 1, 1777. We cannot be sure how, when, or where the young subaltern first came to the attention of the commander-in-chief. Several occasions are mentioned, the first in New York City when General Greene was attracted to the expertness in maneuvers of a battery, invited the captain to a conversation, and later introduced him to Washington. Or at Harlem Heights Washington may have noticed the dispatch with which Hamilton's mattrosses and bombardiers threw up a fortification, and marked him for a members of the headquarters family. Hamilton earlier, in New York, had declined an offer, solicited by the Boudinots, of a place on the staff of William Alexander, Lord Stirling. At that time he preferred the dangers and opportunity for distinction in field command. However, a year later, with the army settled down at Morristown, he had enjoyed some battle exploits, and was prepared to serve the commander-in-chief. Pickering found him already busy at headquarters in February, before his formal appointment, and understood that Hamilton was regarded as a young officer of unusual talents.

In any event he received the receipts of his artillerymen for their pay, turned his battery over to another, and entered on the confidential daily, almost hourly association with Washington which was to continue for four arduous years. Hamilton would have been well off with Stirling, for whom he ever had admiration and affection, and who performed more than one service for his young friend. But had he accepted Stirling's invitation he might not have formed the connection with Washington which determined the course of his after career. This single circumstance, of the intimacy of Hamilton and Washington, commencing on New Jersey soil, is enough to give this state a special place in the current celebration. Here began one of the most fruitful collaborations in American history. Indeed, has there been such another? Perhaps the long partnership of Jefferson and Madison is most nearly to be likened to it, in degree of mutual sympathy and magnitude of national policies issuing from it.

Hamilton and Washington, so unlike in many respects—age, origin, and temperament—had the same devotion to identical public purposes. Actually, on the score of self-forgetfulness, it

may surprise some to be reminded that Washington, though in the most honorable fashion, perhaps had a more jealous regard for his fame than Hamilton entertained for his. It will be remembered that Washington was reluctant to attend the Philadelphia constitutional convention because it might prove abortive and diminish his reputation earned in the war. Other similar examples might be mentioned, whereas in no instance, I believe, did Hamilton count the cost of an action to the esteem in which he might stand. Of course the positions of the two men were different, and I do not mean to press the distinction.

At headquarters Hamilton was more than the skillful, faithful transmitter of Washington's wishes. He often proposed and executed policy with the commander-in-chief's approval. Hamilton's faculty for contrivance was not more fertile than his capacity for putting designs into effect was efficient and practical. Washington's support, especially in later years, gave Hamilton a leverage, as Secretary of the Treasury and as party leader, that he could not have plied otherwise. As Washington's aide (after a few years his chief aide) Hamilton knew all that transpired at headquarters, had a complete view of the war in its military, economic, and diplomatic aspects. His subsequent policies, as member of the Old Congress and minister in the new national administration, grew out of his war experience.

It was at Morristown that Hamilton, on invitation of the New York provincial convention, regularly wrote letters to a committee, informing of the progress of events, particularly as they would affect New York. This was in the spring and summer of 1777, when the state was being invaded by Burgoyne from Canada and it was feared, or actually expected, that Sir Henry Clinton would move up the Hudson at the advantageous moment. This would have cut off New England from the remainder of the Confederacy, perhaps inflicting a fatal stroke to American hopes. Hamilton took the precaution of explaining that the opinions he expressed in these anxiously scanned communications were not necessarily those of the commander-in-chief, and must not be taken as in any sense official. As a matter of fact, there was little or no divergence. Hamilton was scrutinizing, for Washington, all reports of Burgoyne's progress. He reported his

growing conviction that impediments to his southward march would take such toll of his strength that he could not meet the resistance Schuyler was building up against him. Fortunately, his predictions were borne out in the event.

From time to time to time throughout the war Hamilton conducted correspondence for the commander-in-chief with Governor William Livingston. This concerned military recruitment and policy appropriate in dealing with Tories and others suspected of disloyalty. It is remembered that Washington, alone and personally, conferred with his spies. Incidentally, one of these was Hercules Mulligan, who was detained in New York City by the British. It may be that Hamilton arranged for Mulligan's service to Washington. Short of giving directions to and receiving the visits of spies, Hamilton had the headquarters assignment of screening intelligence reports. On one occasion when an individual believed to be a British spy visited headquarters Hamilton purposely left open on his desk an exaggerated enumeration of American troops. Another time he used a subtler method. An American agent suspected of serving the enemy asked Hamilton whether the army would move against New York or Virginia. Considering that the spy would not expect to hear the truth, Hamilton answered "Virginia," with the result that Sir Henry Clinton was further persuaded to hole up in New York.

Once Hamilton was accused of spying. He and another officer were said to have come to the British encampment at New Brunswick to deliver letters from prisoners in American hands. The Hessian officer who received Hamilton and his colleague claimed that they had really come to inform themselves on the strength of the post, and sent them aawy in short order. It is a story, of which innumerable ones were told and credited during the war. "Prostitution of a flag" was severely condemned by Hamilton in the case of Andre', whom he liked personally, so it is improbable that he would be guilty of such conduct. It was in this connection that he advised Livingston to mete out severe punishment only to those whose offenses were grave. The young aide knew, from familiarity with Livingston's record as a preserver of personal liberties, that this would be a congenial recommendation. Hamilton's headquarters associations with Elias

Boudinot, Francis Barber, Elias Dayton, Lord Stirling and others in the army were naturally closer.

You need not be detained by more than a reference to Hamilton's movements at this time from point to point in the northern part of New Jersey, with and on errands for the commander-in-chief. Without regard to chronology, it may be mentioned here that Hamilton was frequently in touch, for Washington, with General David Forman, who was the commander's faithful, argus-eyed sentry on the dunes of Sandy Hook, giving the earliest information of movements of the enemy by sea.

The next episode identifying Alexander Hamilton with New Jersey, or rather with a prominent New Jersey figure, happened in the autumn of this year 1777. Following the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, Washington wished to draw down American troops, if no longer needed in the northern quarter, to reinforce him in his winter camp near Philadelphia. The situation was a delicate one. The victorious Gates was in the ascendant, while Washington had lost the battle of Brandywine, had been unable to prevent capture of the capital, Philadelphia, and had been beaten at Germantown. Moreover, the line of command was not so clear as it became later. When General Schuyler was displaced in the northern theatre largely at the instance of New Englanders, Washington had declined to name Gates as his successor. It was Congress, where Gates' influence was already strong, which took the responsibility. Thus Gates, in his own bailiwick, was semi-autonomous. Washington, with previous grounds for suspecting the loyalty of Gates to himself, was offended, officially and personally, when Gates omitted to notify him directly of Burgoyne's surrender. Gates, in reply to Washington's brief remonstrance, explained that he had supposed the President of Congress would convey this important news. This was disrespectful, perhaps insubordinate, conduct. In any event, it left the commander-in-chief without knowledge of Gates' further plans, if he had any.

Washington chose Hamilton for the circumspect mission to Gates. He was to represent Washington's weakness at White Marsh (soon Valley Forge), and persuade Gates to relinquish such of his units as were not demanded by any enterprise Gates

might entertain against Ticonderoga or elsewhere in the north. The assignment was diplomatic as well as military, and involved more discretion than was ordinarily entrusted to an aide.

To make a long story short, Gates blustered, tried to put Hamilton off with fewer and weaker units than Hamilton thought would meet Washington's requirement, but in the end acceded, though with ill grace. When Hamilton had hastened the reinforcements down to Washington it was only to be followed by an accusatory letter from Gates to Washington. General Thomas Conway had been making prejudicial insinuations about the commander-in-chief in letters to Gates, and Gates, pleased and flattered, had not rebuked him. James Wilkinson, Gates' aide, on his leisurely way from Albany to Congress to take official word of Burgoyne's dispatches, had spent a convivial day at the headquarters of Lord Stirling at Reading. In his cups, he had told of the disloyal sentiments of Conway which Gates was receiving. Lord Stirling, true to Washington, reported to the commander-in-chief the blabbings of Gates' messenger.

Washington rebuked Conway and Conway sped a caution to Gates to be careful of his correspondence. Gates at once wrote to Washington, in effect admitting what he had before denied, that he had such a letter from Conway. He plainly implied that it was Hamilton who, on his recent visit to Albany, had rifled Gates' correspondence and copied the guilty document. Hamilton, having thus proved himself untrustworthy, might similarly betray Washington, who was put on guard against the viper in his bosom. When Gates discovered that it was his own darling aide, Wilkinson, who was guilty of the disclosure, they had words which ended in Wilkinson challenging Gates to a duel. On their way to exchange pistol shots Gates repented, wept, and made up the difference with his opponent.

The service which Lord Stirling performed for Hamilton in clearing him of Gates' charge he also performed for Washington. Not only was Hamilton exculpated, if he ever needed vindication in his commander's eyes, but Conway, Gates, and Wilkinson were put in their true characters. Hamilton was ever grateful to Stirling. We may remember what Washington replied when someone complained that His Lordship was inclined to incapaci-

tate himself by drinking too much. "Whenever there is fighting to be done," said Washington, "I notice that Lord Sterling is always active on the field," or words of similar meaning. Those familiar with Hamilton's story have frequently wondered why he was loyal and compassionate toward William Duer, who, after he left the Treasury where he was Hamilton's first assistant, engaged in reckless speculations which precipitated a financial panic in New York. He was jailed for debt, and it was Hamilton who after some years secured his release. Maybe the fact that Duer was the son-in-law of Lord Stirling had a part in Hamilton's friendly offices.

Hamilton was Boudinot's companion in futile attempts to agree with the enemy upon a general cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and for a time substituted for his older friend as commissary of this department. Captives in American hands could be quartered in distant rural areas near supplies of food and fuel, and they could construct their own shelter. But the sufferings of Americans held by the British were shameful, thrust as they were into overcrowded jails, warehouses, churches, and hulks. Boudinot did not need to be the merciful man he was to be sickened by the sights he saw in these abominable holes in New York.

Faults on both sides prevented reaching terms for a standing, continuous exchange. The British avoided such a treaty because it might in effect concede our status as belligerents. They resented our interpretation of the "Convention of Saratoga." On the other hand, some partial arrangement would quiet threatened disaffection of German auxiliaries. For our part, while Congress wavered in response to temporary advantage, Washington, Hamilton, and Boudinot were forthright. "I have repeatedly offered to exchange every prisoner in our hands," declared Boudinot. He was for "liberating every Soldier . . . in Captivity let the Consequence be what it might." This was in spite of the fact that the enemy would get back trained troops, in tolerable condition, while many returned to us were raw recruits, broken in health and spirit.

In the depth of winter at Valley Forge, when cries for liberation were loudest, Congress weighed between authorizing a

general exchange and objecting that none could take place until we collected a supposed balance due us for support of prisoners in our hands. Following Washington's remonstrance, Congress adopted the expeditious policy. Washington named as our commissioners Colonels Boudinot and William Grayson, and Lt. Cols. Hamilton and Robert H. Harrison. Sir William Howe designated Colonel Charles O'Hara and two other officers. Before our negotiators left camp Washington called a council of general officers, attended also by the committee of congress then near headquarters. The legislative visitors urged that "settling this Cartel should be merely ostensible for the purpose of satisfying the Army and throwing the blame on the British," while in fact we must avoid releasing men to the enemy at the opening of the campaign. Boudinot and his colleagues roundly denounced this advice and "absolutely refused to undertake the business on these principles . . ." Washington, usually so deferential to the civil authority, disregarded the committee and assured his commissioners that he would ratify the best results they could secure and take the risk upon himself.

Thus empowered, the Americans set out from Valley Forge with a captain's guard of horse for the meeting at Germantown commencing March 31, 1778. They exchanged credentials and dined together, doubtless at the Green Tree Inn, still standing on Germantown Avenue, then the Skippack Road. "We had previously obtained the Characters of our opponents," Boudinot recorded, "and were convinced that they depended . . . on out drinking us," but his friend Grayson could be relied upon to defeat them in that department. After three days, in which Grayson wore the British down, agreement seemed in sight. Beaten by argument and alcohol, the British concocted a ruse. Could they visit Philadelphia that evening for a ball? The Americans courteously but unwisely consented. O'Hara and his partners waited next day until the morning session was over, then announced that General Howe did not consider Germantown neutral ground, and had ordered that the Americans must leave at once. The Americans indignantly called this the breach of faith that it was. They suspected a plot to detain them past the time limit, but yielded to the call of dinner, again relying on the

competitive guzzling of Grayson. The British "sat after dinner with Grayson . . . till they could scarely sit upright," and finally were put on their horses for Philadelphia. Fortunately the horses had refreshed themselves from a manger, not from a mug.

A last minute appeal of Howe for the Americans to remain was refused. Washington commended the action of his negotiators and politely expressed his displeasure to Howe. A few days later, on Howe's request, the commissioners reassembled at Newtown, but long discussions came to nothing. O'Hara privately confided that Howe had no authority to form a cartel. He followed this damaging admission by the laughing remark that if ever captured he would expect his American opponents to come to his aid. Three years later, at Yorktown, he found himself in this predicament, but was dined by Washington instead of being deceived.

Later, Hamilton was sent by Washington to Perth Amboy to meet the British to discuss exchange of prisoners, but again the effort was abortive. When Boudinot resigned as commisary of prisoners to enter Congress, Hamilton, acting in his place, prepared for an agreement with Sir Henry Clinton for the release of all prisoners held in Philadelphia in return for a complement liberated by us, and this plan was consummated by Boudinot.

Late in 1776 Hamilton, as we noticed, had traversed New Jersey in a westward direction with Washington's retreating army. A year and a half later, in June 1778, he covered the state in the opposite direction when Washington was in pursuit of the retreating British. In the PROCEEDINGS of your Society[1] I have told in some detail how Hamilton scouted and wrote for Washington in the campaign that came to its climax in the battle of Monmouth. In summary, he was the penman at the council of war at Valley Forge which determined on the chase of Clinton, and he remained with Washington in the first stages of the march, by Moorestown, Coryell's Ferry, and Hopewell. Hamilton deplored the majority decision of the council of general officers held at the latter place. Influenced by General Charles Lee, the advice was against striking a blow at the fleeing foe. Hamilton declared this timidity "would have done honor to the most honorable society of midwives, and to them only." Lafayette, Greene, and Wayne

[1]Volume 73 (1955), pp. 239 *ff.*

were for attack; the tradition that Hamilton went with Greene to persuade Washington to improve this opportunity may be apochryphal, but certain it is that this was the aide's whole desire, and it became the resolve of the commander-in-chief. The role of General Lee in this campaign, and earlier, was temporizing or treasonable as you choose to look at it. The advance force would have been better led by Lafayette or Stirling, both of whom were eager for the assignment. By the then custom of our army Lee, being second in command, had the refusal of the post. He wavered but finally accepted it.

Hamilton was dispatched on errands that kept him days and nights in the saddle. His duty was to ascertain the whereabouts and intentions of the enemy and to coordinate and focus the movements of the various American forces—main army, detachments, and advanced corps. One or two of his hurried notes, from the region of Allen Town, have been preserved. His weariness, anxiety, and haste are apparent in the handwriting, usually so uniform and precise, and once he omitted the date.

Hamilton rejoined the main army at Englishtown. Here, for Washington, he wrote the order governing Lee. Lee's object must be to open the action and bring on a general engagement. He was to attack when the main army was close enough in its march to protect his corps. That piece of paper, with its few lines in Hamilton's hand, has never been seen from that day to this. Lee did not produce it at his court-martial, which is prima facie evidence that Hamilton's recollection of it, given orally to the court, was accurate. In the thousands of pages of Hamilton's writing there are few ambiguities.

It is too bad that Molly Pitcher was not at hand to take over command when Lee showed signs of "hurry of mind," as Hamilton described his state, or when he was seized by "a partial lunacy," as Boudinot put it. Instead of pressing the initial attack he retreated. Fortunately he collided with the main army in time for Washington, in a magnificent demonstration of command, to reverse the fortunes of the day. Hamilton was in many parts of the field, rallying and charging, until his horse was shot from under him and the Colonel was so hurt that he was obliged to desist. Incidentally, it was a description of the action which

Hamilton wrote to his old friend Elias Boudinot that inspired Boudinot, in a paragraph in a Philadelphia paper, to cast an unintentional slight upon Washington's secretaries (Harrison and Tilghman) as distinguished from his aides. All were valiant in the field of battle, and Hamilton secured a correction of the slip.

Conflicting testimony was given afterward as to whether, when Washington encountered Lee fleeing the enemy, the commander-in-chief cursed him. Some picturesque accounts were given of Washington's resourcefulness in language in his rage. Hamilton heard nothing of the sort, but reported instead that Washington had no time to curse Lee, he was too busy in marshalling his forces for counter-attack.

With Washington and others of the staff, Hamilton spent the night under a tree on the hard-fought field, corpses still littering the ground. Next day all but a burial detail marched to New Brunswick, where commenced the court-martial of Lee for cowardice, insubordination, and disrespectful language to the commander-in-chief. Amidst much testimony, that of Hamilton, who had transmitted Washington's crucial order to Lee, was of special importance. Lee and some of his immediate subordinates contended, with what plausibility they could, that Lee's purpose in his retreat was to draw the enemy across the several marshy ravines to ground where Washington could most advantageously deliver a decisive blow. In the eyes of the court this was not convincing, and Lee was suspended from all command. At New Brunswick Washington's headquarters, as we know from a diary kept by James McHenry of his staff, were at Ross Hall. Presumably Hamilton was there with him. The house is yet standing, though badly damaged by fire and vandals. It was from this home that the commander-in-chief and his aides issued to view the army's celebration of the fourth of July in New Brunswick.

On the way north toward Paramus, as we know also from McHenry's diary, Washington and his party stopped at the Great Falls of the Passaic and had lunch within sight of the cataract. McHenry, a facile and tasteful writer, gave some space to describing the scene. Ten years after this first view of the falls, almost to the day, Hamilton as the leading spirit of the Society

for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures proposed that the corporation locate its mills and town here.

We often have occasion to note the mutual confidence of Hamilton and Elias Boudinot, his old patron of Elizabethtown, in stressful days of the Revolution and afterward. One incident falls at this point in our history. In August 1778 General John Sullivan, commanding our forces on Rhode Island, had planned a combined attack with Count D'Estaing. But the French admiral, when his fleet was crippled in a storm, insisted on taking his ships to Boston for repairs, thus leaving the Americans in a dangerous situation. By an adroit retreat barely ahead of enemy reinforcements, Sullivan escaped disaster. Washington, by Hamilton's hand, had cautioned Sullivan that should he be deserted by the French fleet he should not anger our sensitive allies by recriminations. But Sullivan did not get the admonition in time, and in general orders, with Irish vehemence, he cast reflections. Lafayette, commanding under him, feared injurious repercussions. Hamilton, for Washington, reproved Sullivan, but with kindness.

Apprehending that Congress might be called on to notice the contretemps, Hamilton wrote a private letter to Boudinot intended to forestall censure of Sullivan. As in other cases in which the aide figured, this was a letter which Washington could not write, and yet his sentiments must be conveyed. Sullivan deserved the popular applause he was receiving for extricating his army, but Boudinot, part French himself, could estimate French resentment at Sullivan's strictures. One way out was for Congress to praise the courage of a young French officer, Major Louis Toussard, who had lost an arm in his attempt to capture an enemy field piece. Congress responded by thanking Sullivan and pronouncing D'Estaing and his officers "fully entitled to the regards of the friends of America." D'Estaing must have had this kind of service in mind when he told Washington that Hamilton's "talents and . . . personal qualities have secured for him for ever my esteem, my confidence, my friendship."

Hamilton was always friendly with Sullivan, and a year after the incident just narrated had another opportunity to aid him, again by intervention with Jerseymen. Early in 1779 an expedi-

tion against the Iriquois loomed as an eligible military fill-in. We were not strong enough, in men and materiel, to expel the British from Rhode Island or New York, but a campaign of detachments to destroy the Indian towns would provide activity, protect the frontier settlements, and not be costly. Hamilton must have been glad when the command was refused by Gates with characteristic bad grace. and Sullivan was chosen. However, plans were complicated by what Gouverneur Morris described as "the extinction of public spirit, the increasing rapacity of the times, the want of harmony in our councils, the . . . distresses of the officers of the army . . ." It promptly appeared that the officers of the 1st New Jersey Regiment felt driven to desperate action. In a memorial to the state legislature they declared that unless they and their troops were paid within three days they must be considered as discharged and would not march with Sullivan as ordered. Maxwell gave the memorial to Washington. It breathed near-mutiny, yet, considering undeniable provocations, the commander-in-chief must reassure while he reprobated. Peremptory threat of court-martial might produce rebellion in other units. Three hundred officers had recently resigned.

Hamilton's special solicitude for the good name of New Jersey spoke in the phrases in which he couched Washington's remonstrance: "The patience and perseverance of the army have . . . inspired me with an unlimited confidence in their virtue, which has consoled me amidst every . . . reverse of fortune . . . . The Jersey officers have not been outdone by any others in the qualities either of citizens or soldiers; and I am confident no part of them would . . . intend anything that would be a stain to their former reputation. The Gentlemen . . . have only *reasoned wrong about the means of obtaining a good end;* and on Consideration . . . will renounce what must appear improper . . . when under marching orders, for an important service . . ." The same tact was used in reporting the recalcitrance to Congress. "The causes of discontent," Washington declared, "are too great and too general and the ties that bind the officers to the service too feeble to admit of rigor."

Disgruntlement was only partially mollified. The officers responded that they would obey commands only until substitutes

could be found. Fortunately the legislature found pay instead, the contingent marched with Sullivan, and gave a good account of themselves. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Barber, belonging to another New Jersey regiment, served as Sullivan's adjutant, and his orderly book, giving a first-hand account of the campaign, is owned by the New Jersey Historical Society and has been published.[1]

The place of Hamilton's romance with Betsey Schuyler—or of the beginning of a romance that lasted for his lifetime—is in New Jersey. The house in Morristown is beautifully preserved and furnished as a memorial to the Schuylers, but it is also inseparably connected with the young lieutenant colonel of Washington's staff who came courting there in the spring and summer of 1780. Philip Schuyler was in camp in an official though civilian capacity, as a member of Congress, a character which he did not relish, since he would have preferred, in a military company, to be wearing his uniform. He and Mrs. Schuyler were absent at times in Philadelphia, and Betsey seems to have gone with them there for a shorter visit. The house at Morristown was the home of Elizabeth's aunt, wife of Dr. John Cochran, surgeon-general for the middle states department. One of Betsey's sisters accompanied her to Morristown from Albany. We have the record of assistance to them by General Heath, commanding at West Point, in their journey. General Schuyler wrote ahead, claiming the courtesies of General Steuben to the young ladies. This request was answered by Colonel Benjamin Walker in Steuben's absence. Walker explained that the poor state of his uniform made him hesitant, but he probably played the gallant just the same.

He did not need to be embarrassed for long, for Hamilton was at once attracted to Betsey, she to him, and he must have spent every off-duty hour in attendance. So far as we know, aside from a single allusion by a fellow aide to "poor Polly," Betsey was his first and only love. He wrote her sister that her beauty and ingenuous grace were demoralizing the camp, and that for the good of the service either she must be removed from the field of Mars or another, to compete with her, must come there. From a

[1]Cf. PROCEEDINGS, 1930, pp. 432-33.

description of Betsey a few years before by Tench Tilghman, who met her at Albany, she was athletic in outdoor excursions. So we may assume that she and Hamilton rode together (a regular Morristown pastime as noted by Mrs. Bland and others), as well as danced at the officers' balls, and visited and "drank tea" in the homes of neighboring families.

A deal of politics must have mixed, in the Schuyler "headquarters," with bows, curtsies, and caresses. These months gave Hamilton his best opportunity to know Philip Schuyler, who properly appreciated the remarkable talents of the young aid from first sight of him in Washington's military family. Between the two grew an agreement and affection which never abated. Their tastes, principles, and desire to serve the country may be called identical. Aside from Hamilton's own genius, Washington's sponsorship of him was the strongest influence in his career. But between them, in spite of correspondence of ideas and purposes, did not run the electric currents that flashed from Hamilton to Schuyler and back again. This mutual prompting produced a collaboration which had profound issue in the Constitution and policies under the new national government.

It has been the custom of biographers critical of Hamilton to say that his marriage to Elizabeth Schuyler was premeditated to advance his social acceptance and professional and political prospects. It is pointed out that his own origins were distant and obscure, or worse, and that alliance with a family of the elite, and wealthy too, was a part of his calculating ambition. To support this notion it is reminded that Elizabeth, while comely, was poorly educated and at best amiable in spirit. Better knowledge of the evidence would have saved commentators from such shallow assertions. A single long letter from Alexander to Elizabeth, as their marriage neared, is enough refutation. In it he tells her repeatedly that with him she may encounter poverty, and that she must search her heart to be sure that in becoming his wife she will not part with ease and position for sacrifices which she cannot endure. Ardently loving though he is, his candor is almost painful. The whole of their life together, of which we have a pretty full picture, scouts the conjecture that Alexander Hamilton married Elizabeth Schuyler from any motives except

admiration and affection. She was not brilliant, not as animated and witty as her sister Angelica who married John B. Church. Her understanding of what she could contribute to a man of genius was very good indeed, and her loyalty, under test, was shining perfection.

Alexander, and maybe Betsey too, thought they might be married at Morristown, but they yielded to the Schuylers' decided preference for a home wedding at Albany. This was particularly because her older sister, Angelica, had run off to marry Church, a disagreeable circumstance fresh in memory. Actually, as it turned out, Betsey was the only one of four daughters who chose to have her nuptials under the parental roof. The others all scampered off, if no farther than across the Hudson. Though on the wing, they all married conspicuously well.

Restless as aide, early in 1781, shortly after his marriage, Hamilton applied to Washington, and not for the first time, to be given field command. But the general needed his services at headquarters, and shifting an officer from staff to line caused jealousies. This disappointment contributed to the only sharp difference between them. Washington, at New Windsor, reproved Hamilton for a slight delay which was not his fault, and Hamilton abruptly resigned his post. Soon, however, he was back with the army, at Dobbs Ferry, asking to lead a battalion of light infantry in the next campaign. Washington found a way to favor him, and he crossed with the van into New Jersey. Doubtless Hamilton, from his long intimacy with the commander-in-chief, knew what others did not, that the object was not an attack on New York, but the besieging of Cornwallis in Virginia. Hamilton must have smiled to himself when the general built bake ovens at Chatham, and lugged along pontoon boats to deceive Sir Harry Clinton. Soon these ruses were abandoned, and the swift business of making junction with French troops and fleet at Yorktown was pursued. At Williamsburg Hamilton was thrown again with Francis Barber, who had come down earlier with Lafayette's advance force.

Various stories have been told about the contest between officers eager to lead the attack on one of the last British redoubts that protected Cornwallis. One is that Barber claimed the priv-

ilege. Evidence is lacking. What we know is that Barber led a contingent under Hamilton and, as always, played an enterprising, brave part (he was slightly wounded) in the sudden successful assault.

This was the end of Hamilton's active soldiering. He returned to Albany, prepared himself for the bar with the assistance of his old college friend Robert Troup, a native of New Jersey, and shortly entered Congress. That body was sufficiently beleaguered with financial problems, unsolvable while the states retained their separate stubborn sovereignties. The situation was excruciating when the Pennsylvania State House, where Congress sat, was surrounded by mutinous troops demanding pay of the legislature. As chairman of the committee of Congress to cope with the situation, Hamilton was more at odds with President John Dickinson, of the Pennsylvania Executive Council, than with the misguided men from the barracks. The state authorities declined to call out the militia to protect the national dignity. Here was further proof of the imbecility of the Confederation. Hamilton was obliged to advise President Boudinot to remove Congress to Princeton for safety. There Hamilton attended for most of the remainder of the confused session. Had legislative business been better expedited, he would have presented at Princeton resolutions which he drew, setting forth the fatal demerits of the existing form of government, and calling for a convention of the states to form a new one on lines which he laid down.

He had to wait three years for a new try at his object of renovating our political system. This time inauspicious circumstances did not stop him; instead, they spurred him. It was when the commercial convention at Annapolis, in the autumn of 1786, seemed on the point of adjournment for lack of sufficient attendance. Luckily the New Jersey delegates had come clothed with power to discuss not only interstate trade, but "other important matters." It was the Newark lawyer, Abraham Clark, so Madison tells us, who proposed that the few delegates present snatch the brand from the burning by calling on Congress to convoke a constitutional convention. We chance to have Clark's bill, presented to the state, for $80 for 20 days' service in repre-

senting New Jersey at Annapolis. If every dollar of his charge was a million, his pay would have been too little. For Clark's motion gave Hamilton the opening which he boldly entered.

He penned the ringing report which said that the American policy and economy were hastening to disaster, and could be saved only by a fresh start. The states should send commissioners to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday of the following May, 1787—note the virtue of naming a date—"to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise . . . further provisions . . . necessary to render . . . the federal government adekuate to the exigencies of the Union." Edmund Randolph was in one of his spells of inhibition, and insisted, so it is said, on toning down Hamilton's draft. We do not have the original among Egbert Benson's minutes, but the final demand, however muted, was loud enough. And the states were ready—readier than Congress, in fact—for just this kind of challenge. This was proved by their prompt, unanimous response, and by the prompter action of the delegates in Independence Hall. When assembled, no matter how limited their formal powers, they said with one voice, "An end to foolishness, let's make a new constitution."

In the Annapolis Convention Hamilton had been given his big chance by New Jersey—by the latitude of the legislature, and by the forthrightness of Clark. In the Philadelphia convention it was quite otherwise. I need not remind that Hamilton, the friend of competent central government, rejected the whole conception of the New Jersey plan which was tenacious of state sovereignty. He liked the Virginia plan better, but not well enough to halt him from announcing in a long speech his own ideas of a government that would really cure the pass to which affairs had come. He was in a minority of one, which did not deter him. He gained no confessed adherents. He had not expected to have them. But in fact, in subtle fashion, his lone appeal sank into the minds of his hearers and showed itself in their subsequent willingness to approach his position. Without him New Jersey's diffidence might have got farther and Virginia's courage not have got so far.

The remainder that we have to chronicle of Hamilton's career

as it touches New Jersey, except for his satisfaction in the promptness and unanimity with which this state ratified the Constitution, is by way of denouement. The Society for Useful Manufactures which he sponsored was a presage of America's industrial greatness, but at the time it was a disappointment. He had heralded it in his Report on Manufactures, 1791, and the grant by New Jersey of a charter of incorporation became an example for so many more—indeed was a historic event in the development of what became the characteristic form of American business enterprise. Many of Hamilton's New Jersey friends with capital to invest rallied to buy stock—the Boudinots, the Daytons, Henry and Brockholst Livingston, Neilson, John Pintard, who was half-Jerseyman, and others. But the promotion went vastly beyond the performance. L'Enfant, the engineer, was visionary. With much else, he wanted to carry the waters of the Passaic River some miles in a viaduct. His project was not more extravagant than the speculations of Duer, to whom the fortunes of the corporation had been principally committed. But if L'Enfant's scheme was liquid, Duer was soon not liquid at all. The money panic that Duer's failure precipitated practically doomed the Paterson enterprise for the time being. Hamilton tried, too late, to help by coaxing a loan from the Bank of New York, intimating Treasury protection of the Bank in a fashion safe enough but not perfectly wise. Hamilton could keep more irons in the fire than most men, but the manufacturing corporation at Paterson was one that cooled on his hands.

No wonder. During the period when Hamilton was active in the Society's affairs he was preparing his Report on Manufactures, was paying blackmail to the husband of a woman with whom he had a liaison, was obliged to confess to three congressmen his private fault in order to cancel their suspicion that he was guilty of public malfeasance. Soon he was laboring under extraordinary pressure to render accounts demanded by political foes who designed to discredit his conduct of the Treasury. He was dealing prudently with worrisome refusal of western distillers to pay the excise. He was stricken with yellow fever in the Philadelphia epidemic of 1793. These were only major emer-

gencies in a continual scene of devising administrative procedures, fending off attacks on his funding system, and defense and organization of the Bank of the United States.

Even so bedeviled, Hamilton gave the directors of the S.U.M. the most useful advice that they received. His acquiescence in the naming of Duer as first governor of the enterprise was part of the general confidence which Duer then enjoyed. His suggestion of the visionary L'Enfant as engineer involved more blame. The fact was, as Professor Joseph S. Davis has shown in his celebrated history of the S.U.M., that the undertaking, in the amplitude and variety in which it was promoted, was premature and invited failure. If Hamilton had had no other assignment, and been able to devote himself exclusively to the formation and progress of the manufacturing and town-founding project, he would have made costly mistakes. Many years were to pass before his ambitious project would be realized by other means. Distracted as he was, he overreached. The debacle of the S.U.M. was the single failure amidst his triumphs while in office. His proposal for nurture of manufactures by protective legislation was not carried into effect at once, but it registered piecemeal gains and later fortified a national program.

After Hamilton left the cabinet, in 1795, Washington continued to consult him. Oliver Wolcott, who had deservedly risen in the Treasury to become Hamilton's successor, while he was an able man, was dependent on Hamilton, did nothing of moment without Hamilton's counsel, as their correspondence abundantly shows. Hamilton had not wanted John Adams to be President. He accepted the fact with ill grace and with constant effort to set Adams aside by himself guiding the policies of Adams' administration. This he readily managed through his old friends the members of Adams' cabinet, Wolcott, Pickering, and McHenry. Hamilton's energies and solicitude, when he was a cabinet minister of Washington, had often spilled over into other departments. Now he yielded to temptation in gratuitous fashion. For a long time Adams did not wake to this remote control of his cabinet, dismissing Pickering and McHenry, and even so he did not wake fully, or he would not have retained Wolcott.

Adams in the end shook himself free of Hamilton's pretensions, but too late to save the fortunes of the Federalist party, if indeed they could have been saved in any case.

It was when tension between Hamilton and Adams was extreme that Hamilton made a trip to Trenton, temporarily the seat of government, to influence the cabinet in Adams' absence. The truth is that Hamilton when he was free to build, by open advocacy as in the *Federalist* or by the exercise of powers with which he had been invested, was magnificent. But when others—any others except Washington—were in charge, he found it difficult to co-operate, and became instead the critic, oftener than otherwise the destructive critic. His powers were for creation. Denied that role, his capacities flowed into mistaken channels. Self-discipline would forsake him, his remarkable faculties were perverted. This was more than a foible, it was a defect. He undertook too much, worked too furiously, could not relax, lost perspective. But in the end, confronted with the mischief which he in part had wrought, he knew how to right himself. He rose superior to his errors. Required, in 1800, to choose between Jefferson whom he heartily disliked and Burr whom he distrusted, he threw his weight for the presidency to his personal enemy and against the man he considered the country's foe. Again in 1804 he successfully used all his efforts to keep Burr from winning the governorship of New York, at the price of angering his party friends.

Then he must pay the greatest and last price on a July morning at Weehawken, when politics had led to pistols. As New Jersey had been the scene of his first preparation for a career that took him to the heights, so it was on New Jersey soil that he fell, not to rise again. But the country which he had sought, the nation for which he had lived continued to rise and strengthen, and not a little because of what he gave.

Twenty Questions on New Jersey

FRED SHELLEY

Check each correct answer to the following questions and then see how well you have scored by referring to the answers on page 157.

1. The following New Jersey men have served or are serving on the U.S. Supreme Court: William Paterson ——, Joseph P. Bradley ——, Mahlon Pitney ——, William J. Brennan, Jr. ——.

2. The earliest book printed in New Jersey is an edition of laws which appeared in 1723 ——, 1743 ——, 1763 ——.

3. The tea burned in New Jersey's tea party in 1774 at Greenwich, Cumberland County, was brought to America by the *Griffen* ——, the *Greyhound* ——, the *Key of Calmar* ——.

4. Frank Sinatra ——, Thomas Mitchell ——, Lou Costello ——, Joan Caulfield ——, and Dore Schary ——, well-known figures in the entertainment field, were born in New Jersey.

5. The last trolley line still operating in New Jersey is in Newark ——, from Princeton to Trenton ——, in Atlantic City ——.

6. Two Vice-Presidents of the United States were born in New Jersey. They are Aaron Burr ——, Schuyler M. Colfax ——, Garret A. Hobart, ——, Walter E. Edge ——.

7. A party from Henry Hudson's *Half Moon* landed on Sandy Hook ——, the Palisades ——, Island Beach ——, before landing in the present New York

8. Recent investigation showed that there are more than 100 ——, 200 ——, 300 —— examples of patterned brickwork in New Jersey houses built mostly in the eighteenth century.

9. The first man to fly over New Jersey did so in 1793 ——, 1863 ——, 1903 ——.

10. New Jersey clockmakers include the names of Isaac Brokaw ——, Elias Boudinot ——, Joakim Hill ——, Aaron Dodd Crane ——, Asher B. Durand ——.

11. The life-saving service, now part of the U.S. Coast Guard, was organized after the urging of Theodore F. Randolph ——, Clara Barton ——, William A. Newell ——.

12. H. Alexander Smith ——, John R. McPherson ——, Mahlon Dickerson ——, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen —— served longer in the U.S. Senate than any other New Jerseyan.

13. White men first called the Delaware River the West ——, South ——, New —— River.

14. A recent estimate showed more than 1,000 ——, 11,000 ——, 21,000 —— factories in New Jersey.

15. The name of an English philanthropist, John Howard ——, Joseph Henry ——, Jeremiah Homer —— was used when one of New Jersey's oldest banks was established.

16. A new regional office of the Prudential Insurance Company is at Bridgeton ——, Millville ——, Cape May ——.

17. A Dutch kas is a two-wheeled carriage ——, an ornately carved bedstead ——, a large cupboard ——.

18. Cape May is directly east of Dover, Del. ——, Annapolis, Md. ——, Wilmington ——.

19. High Point is directly west of Poughkeepsie, N.Y. ——, New Haven, Conn. ——, Yonkers ——.

20. Millions of persons recently saw a version of *Hans Brinker* on television. How many knew that Mary Mapes Dodge wrote the novel in Newark ——, Mountain Lakes ——, Rutherford ——?

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL CONFERENCE

sponsored in 1958 by the

BERGEN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Saturday, June 7, 1958, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
Teaneck Campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University
in the Gymnasium

LECTURES: "Dutch Houses and Dutch Life" and "The Revolutionary War in North Jersey" • WORKSHOPS: "The School and the Historical Society" and "Solving Problems of the Small Museum" • LUNCHEON, with greetings and ballads • TEA and TOUR of the nearby Steuben House

Registration $1.50 and Luncheon $2.50

For further information: Bergen County Historical Society, Steuben House, North Hackensack (telephone HUbbard 7-8530); New Jersey Historical Society, 230 Broadway, Newark 4 (telephone HUmboldt 3-3939)

Products of Shepard Kollock's Press, 1801-1818

ELMER T. HUTCHINSON

THE late Mr. Hutchinson was a lifelong student of the life of Shepard Kollock, the pioneer Elizabethtown printer, and of the products of his press. The result of Mr. Hutchison's study of the life of Kollock was given in a talk before the New Jersey Historical Society Forum in February 1937 and was subsequently published in the PROCEEDINGS, Volume 55, pp. 133-48, under the title, "A Pioneer New Jersey Printer." Prior to this, Mr. A. L. Johnson, superintendent of Union County schools, had written articles on the life of Kollock which were published in the anniversary edition of the *Elizabeth Daily Journal,* February 16, 1929. This edition also featured the memoir of Shepard K. Kollock, a grandson of Shepard Kollock, the printer, which gives many incidents in the life of his grandfather which would otherwise be unknown.

Mr. Hutchinson was always very generous in sharing his knowledge of Kollock's printing with others and contributed a great deal of material toward the compilation of "New Jersey Imprints to the End of the Revolution" by Miss Constance H. Humphrey[1] and to *New Jersey Imprints, 1784-1800,* by Miss Lucile M. Morsch.[2] He also made his notes available to Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, compiler of the *History of American Newspapers.*[3]

The following list, embracing the last eighteen years of Kollock's press, has not been published previously and, with

THE COMPILER: The late Mr. Hutchinson (1882-1954), who served as the Society's corresponding secretary for many years, was well known as a New Jersey historian, bibliographer, and contributor to the PROCEEDINGS.

[1] *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Vol. 24 (1930), pp. 43-149.

[2] American Imprints Inventory, No. 9: *Check List of New Jersey Imprints 1784-1800.* Baltimore, 1939.

[3] *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820.* Worcester, Mass., 1947.

the works listed above, will complete the listing of the products of Kollock's New Jersey presses.—GEORGE C. ROCKEFELLER.

A FEW additional words by the editor: Mr. Hutchinson's bibliographical notes on Kollock, while incomplete in certain particulars, were at his death left in very usable condition. Accompanying the original notes (now in the Rutgers University Library) is a typewritten draft of the bibliography, which had been prepared by Mrs. Hutchinson. The latter, with some editorial modifications, has served as basis for the present publication. Although Mr. Hutchinson's notes cover the whole period of Kollock's activity (from the 1770's), the checklist which follows has been limited to the years 1801-18, since a full bibliography of known New Jersey printing through 1800—including Kollock's—is expected to be published by the New Jersey Historical Society within a year or two.

The reader will note, on the following pages, that Mr. Hutchinson has included a few imprints by Isaac A. Kollock, son of Shepard. In the identification of libraries which hold copies of the various titles, abbreviations have been used ("ETH," as well as "H," refers to Mr. Hutchinson's own collection):

AAS	American Antiquarian Society
APS	American Philosophical Society
BA	Boston Atheneum
H	Elmer T. Hutchinson
HL	Henry E. Huntington Library
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
HU	Harvard University Library
LC	Library of Congress
MdHS	Maryland Historical Society
NJHS	New Jersey Historical Society
NJSL	New Jersey State Library
NYHS	New-York Historical Society
NYPL	New York Public Library
NYSL	New York State Library
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society
PU	Princeton University Library
RU	Rutgers University Library
UTS	Union Theological Seminary
YU	Yale University Library

1801

HALL, WILLIAM HENRY. The creation. In six books. . . . Elizabeth-Town: Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, 1801. 24mo. xii p., 1 l., [15]-122 p. *Copies:* AAS, ETH, HL.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1802 . . . By Andrew Beers, philom. . . . Elizabeth-town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1801]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, ETH, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 20, 1801: "This day is published . . . "

1802

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1803 . . . By Andrew Beers, philom. . . . Elizabeth-town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the academy . . . [1802]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 26, 1802: "Just published . . . "

WEEMS, MASON LOCKE, 1759-1825. A history of the life and death, virtue and exploits of General George Washington . . . third edition, improved . . . By the Rev. M. L. Weems . . . Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, for the author [1802?]. 8vo. 61p. frontispiece (port.) *Copies:* AAS, APS, BA, H, HL, HSP, HU, LC, NJHS, NYHS, NYPL; lacking port.: ETH, MdHS.

Brinley 4259; Nelson, p. 19; Skeel 6.

"Although called the third edition, it is probably the fourth, and a mere reprint of the third Philadelphia edition. It contains the additional notes which were first printed in that edition, and which do not appear in the second edition."—Dr. Wilberforce Eames.

The date is supplied by a letter of Weems to Mathew Carey, dated New Hope (N.J.), Feb. "last day," 1802: "Mr. Kollock has the Life of Washington nearly ready for me in 8°. Which likeness of Washington will best frontispiece it?" (Transcript of letters by Weems, made by Mrs. Skeel, Vol 2, pp. 229-30, 239.)

The portrait, by Tanner, after Stuart, stippled, oval, with inscription "G. Washington," appears in some copies but others were published without it.

1803

DU BUC MARENTILLE, ABRAHAM. All people wrecked at sea saved.

Description of the machines invented for that purpose, and for which patents have been obtained. By M. A. Du Buc Marentille. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock for the author, 1803. 8vo. 18p. *Copies:* AAS, ETH (presentation copy from the author to Samuel L. Mitchill, the scientist), LC.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* March 29, 1803: "Thursday next [March 31] will be published and sold by the printer hereof . . . "; advertised April 5, 1803, as "Just published."

The autograph specification of the invention, signed by Abraham Du Buc Marentille, Elizabethtown, October 26, 1802, is listed in Maggs Brothers catalogue 429 *(Bibliotheca Americana),* item 1236. The author, a member of the French colony in Elizabethtown, probably came from the island of Martinique. A tombstone in St. John's Episcopal churchyard, Elizabeth, reads: "Demoiselle Julie Du Buc de Marcucy born in the island of Martinique on the 21st of May 1750 and deceased at Elizabeth Town . . . on the 11th of July 1789. Her brother Abraham Du Buc de Morentille [*sic*] recommends the respect and the care of this tomb to the hospitable inhabitants of this town."

HALL, JAMES, 1744-1826. A narrative of a most extraordinary work of religion in North-Carolina, by the Reverend James Hall. Also a collection of interesting letters from the Rev. James [i.e., Samuel] M'Corkle. To which is added, the agreeable intelligence of a revival in South-Carolina, and in Washington County, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, printed. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Reprinted by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, 1803. 12mo. 36p. *Copies:* ETH (imperfect), NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersty Journal,* March 8, 1803: "This day is published . . . " The Philadelphia edition was published 1802.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1804 . . . By Abraham Shoemaker . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1803]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 22, 1803: "Just published and to be sold by the printer hereof . . . "

1804

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the twenty-ninth session. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the State, 1804. 8vo. 1 p.l., [344]-412p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, RU.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, pp. [66]-84.

"By virtue of an order of Council, Shepard Kollock is hereby appointed to print the forgoing Journals of Council and Minutes of the joint meeting."—p. 84.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1805 . . . By Andrew Beers . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and book-seller nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1804]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 16, 1804: "Just published and to be sold by the printer hereof . . . "

1805

RUSSELL, ROBERT. Seven sermons on different important subjects . . . By Robert Russell, at Wardhurst, in Sussex. Elizabeth-Town (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1805. 18mo. 163p. *Copies:* AAS, H.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1806 . . . By a Correct Calcdlator [*sic*] . . . Elizabeth-Town (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1805]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 26, 1805: "Just published . . . "

1806

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1807 . . . By a Correct Calculator. Elizabeth-Town (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly op-

posite the Academy . . . [1806]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H (imperf.), NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 28, 1806: "Just published . . . "

1807

ELMER, EBENEZER, 1752-1843. An address to the citizens of New-Jersey . . . Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1807. 8vo. 32p. *Copies:* H, NJHS, NYHS.

"Unknown to Sabin" (Nelson catalogue, p. 375).

"Now in the press and will be published in a few weeks . . . "—*New Jersey Journal,* March 31, 1807.

FINLEY, ROBERT, 1772-1817. A sermon on the baptism of John . . . By Robert Finley, A.M., Minister of the Gospel at Basking-Ridge, N. Jersey. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1807. 8vo. 20p. *Copies:* AAS, H, NYSL, PHS, RU.

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the thirty-second session. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1807. 8vo. 1 p.l., [611]-709p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL, RU.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [127]-142, [1].

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1808 . . . . . By Abraham Shoemaker. Elizabeth-Town (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1807]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* H (imperf.), LC, NJHS, RU (imperf.).

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 3, 1807: "This day is published and for sale . . . "

1808

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-

Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the 33rd session. Elizabeth-Town (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers of the state, 1808. 8vo. 1 p.l., [713]-818p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL, RU.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [143]-168.

[Sherlock, Thomas], 1678-1761. The trial of the witnesses of the resurrection of Jesus . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.); Published for Simon & Isaac Kollock, 1808. Shepard Kollock, print. 36mo. 134,18p. *Copies:* AAS, H, HL, NJHS, RU.

"An extract of a short and easy method with the Deists."—18p. at end.

The proposal to print the book appeared in *New Jersey Journal,* Jan. 12, 1807, over the name of Isaac A. Kollock & Company. The only known work published for Simon & Isaac A. Kollock.

Spalding, Joshua, 1760-1825. The divine theory; a system of divinity, founded wholly upon Christ . . . In two volumes. —Vol. I . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1808. 8vo. xxiv, [25]-440, [7]p. *Copies:* AAS, HL, LC, NJHS, PHS, PU, RU, UTS, YU.

Volume II was printed in 1812.

The United States almanac, for the year of our Lord 1809 . . . By David Young, philom. . . . Elizabeth-Town (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1808]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 8, 1808: "Just published . . . " The first almanac compiled by David Young.

1809

New Jersey. Legislature. Legislative Council. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the State of New Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the thirty-fourth session. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, one

of the printers to the state, 1809. 8vo. 1 p.l., [821]-911p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint meeting, p. [169]-198.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. Extracts from the minutes of the Synod of New-York and New-Jersey. A.D. 1809. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Isaac A. Kollock, 1809. 8vo. 15p. *Copies:* NYHS, RU.

"Ordered that the Stated clerk procure the printing of five hundred copies of such Extracts as were selected by the Synod . . . "

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1810 . . . By David Young, philom. . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1809]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H (imperf.), NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 21, 1809: "This day is published . . . "

1810

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the thirty-fifth session. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1810. 8vo. 1 p.l., [915]-952p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [199]-205.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. Extracts from the minutes of the Synod of New-York and New-Jersey. A.D. 1810. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1810. 8vo. 1 p.l., [19]-31p. *Copies:* H, PHS, RU.

On verso of t.p.: " . . . Resolved further, that five hundred copies be printed . . . " Kollock's son-in-law, Rev. John McDowell, was a member of the committee on publication.

SPRING, SAMUEL, 1746-1819. Two sermons addressed to the Second Congregational Society in Newbury-Port, Fast Day, April 6, 1809 . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1810. 12mo. 52p. *Copies:* NYHS, NYPL (imperf.).

Half-title: The poison and the antidote; or, Two sermons . . .

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1811 . . . By David Young, philom. . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1810]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Jan. 15, 1811: "Published and for sale . . . "

1811

THE COTTAGE LIBRARY OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

In August 1811, Kollock proposed printing a series of religious tracts under this title, of about 16 to 20 pages per issue, each adorned with a woodcut by Anderson, to be issued weekly on Saturday morning by Shepard Kollock & Son (Shepard Kollock & Isaac A. Kollock), Elizabethtown, N.J. They were described as installment reprints of a 3-volume English work of the same title. At least the following of these tracts were actually issued, the titles below being taken in part from advertisements in the *New Jersey Journal.*

Tract 1. "Comfort for Bereaved Christians, in Letters occasioned by the death of a Father, a Brother, a Wife, and Children."

Tract 2. "The Power of Grace, exemplified in the extraordinary Conversion of Covey, and several other British Sailors."

Tract 3. *Grace displayed in the conversion of Mr. Studley, a Kentish lawyer. To which is added, The wonderful deliverance of the Rev. J. Rodgers, by means of a very young lady . . .* Elizabeth-Town, N.J., Printed Weekly, and Sold by S. Kollock & Son. No. III. [1811?] 12mo. 16p. *Copy:* NYHS.

Tract 4. *The history of poor Joseph, an authentic narrative. To which is added, The happy conversation of a poor country family.* Elizabeth-Town, S. Kollock & Son, 1811. 12mo. 17p. (Cottage Library, Vol. 1, No. 4; Saturday, Aug. 31.)*

Tract 5. "The best of books, or, the Bible, the grand source of

*Copies are owned by George C. Rockefeller.—EDITOR.

Wisdom, Goodness and Consolation, Illustrated with Anecdotes," to which is added, "The Word more precious than Gold; Thoughts on the Doctrine of Annihilation; The Martyrdom of Cyril; Profane Swearing."

Tract 6. "The Stable Boy, by Dr. Hawker," to which is added, "Suitable Reflections by the same author; Anecdote of Mr. Romaine; On Temperance; Anecdote of Mr. T——— G———; A beautiful and descriptive extract from the 'Scotch Preacher'; Lines on Profane Swearing; Extraordinary death of a Collier."

Tract 9. *An exposition of the Lord's prayer. By a clergyman. Together with some very interesting pieces.* Elizabeth-Town: S. Kollock & Son [1811]. 12mo. 16p. (Cottage Library, Vol. 1, No. 9.)*

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the second sitting of the thirty-fifth session. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1811. 8vo. 1 p.l., [955]-1084p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL.

Includes the meeting of February 23, 1811.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [207]-221.

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceeding of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the thirty-sixth session. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1811. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1087]-1240p. *Copies:* NJHS, RU.

Although title-page is dated 1811, the volume includes the meeting of February 5, 1812, and was unquestionably printed in 1812.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [223]-244.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW JERSEY. Address of the Presbytery of Jersey to the churches under their care. On the subject of exercising a proper pastoral care over baptized children. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Print-

ed by Shepard Kollock, opposite the Academy [1811]. 8vo. 8p. *Copies:* H, PHS, NYHS.

Delivered at Orange, April 25, 1811.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. Extracts from the minutes of the Synod of New-York and New-Jersey. A.D. 1811. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, opposite the Academy [1811]. 8vo. 1p.l., [35]-48p. *Copies:* AAS, H, PHS, NYHS, RU.

On verso of t.p.: " . . . Resolved, that five hundred copies be printed . . . "

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. The larger catechism, ratified and adopted by the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia; held at Philadelphia, May 16, 1788, and continued by adjournments until the 28th of the same. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1811. 8vo. 51p. *Copy:* C. A. Philhower.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* July 23, 1811: "Just published . . . "

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1812 . . . By David Young, philom . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller . . . [1811]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 12, 1811: "Just published . . . "

1812

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. Extracts from the minutes of the Synod of New-York and New-Jersey. A.D. 1812. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, opposite the Academy [1812]. 8vo. 1 p.l., 49-56p. *Copy:* PHS.

On verso of t.p.: "That the . . . committee . . . procure the publication of the five hundred copies . . . "

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA. The larger catechism, ratified and adopted by the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia; held at Philadelphia, May 16, 1788, and continued by adjournments until the 28th of the same. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1812. 8vo. 48p. *Copies:* H, PHS.

SPALDING, JOSHUA, 1760-1825. The divine theory; a system of divinity, founded wholly upon Christ . . . Vol. II . . . Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey: Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1812. 8vo. 2 p.l., 323p. *Copies:* AAS, HL, LC, NJHS, PHS, PU, RU, UTS, YU.

The first volume was printed in 1808.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1813 . . . By David Young, philom. . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller, nearly opposite the Academy . . . [1812]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H, NJHS, NYHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 27, 1812: "Just published . . . "

1813

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the thirty-eighth session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1813. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1437]-1472p. *Copies:* NJHS, NYSL, RU.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. Extracts from the minutes of the Synod of New-York and New-Jersey. A.D. 1813. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, opposite the Academy [1813]. 8vo. 1 p.l., [59]-64p. *Copies:* AAS, H, PHS.

On verso of t.p.: "That the . . . committee . . . procure the printing of five hundred copies . . . "

BIBLE SOCIETY OF NASSAU HALL. Constitution of the Bible society of Nassau Hall, Princeton, New Jersey, to which is added an address to the public. Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1813. 8vo. 16p. *Copy:* RU.

The address signed by William A. McDowell, president.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1814 . . . By David Young, philom. . . . Elizabeth-Town, (N.J.): Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, printer and bookseller . . . [1813]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, H, NJHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Oct. 19, 1813: "Just published . . . "

1814

BIBLE. OLD TESTAMENT. PSALMS. Psalms of David, by Isaac Watts, D.D. Adapted to the United States of America. Elizabeth-Town: Printed and published by Isaac A. Kollock, 1814. 32mo. frontis. 284,255,[1]p., 4 leaves. *Copies:* H, RU.

With this is bound: Hymns and spiritual songs. In three books . . . By Isaac Watts, D.D. Elizabeth-Town: Printed and published by Isaac A. Kollock, 1814. 32mo. 255, [1]p., 4 leaves.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Sept. 3, 1814: "A few copies of the Psalms and hymns, bound in morocco, for sale at this office . . . "

HALYBURTON, THOMAS, 1674-1712. The great concern of salvation . . . Elizabethtown: Published by Mervin Hale. R. and P. Canfield, printers, 1814. 16mo. viii,[9]-139,198,127p. *Copy:* H.

Subscribers' names, p. [115]-127, [1].

This item is included as the work of Shepard Kollock for the following reason. An approximate publication date, August 8, 1814, is found in connection with a notice on the verso of p. 128. Despite the imprint of R. & P. Canfield, that firm actually had ceased printing at Elizabethtown in May 1814. Since the type is entirely different from that used by Kollock, it is suggested that the Canfields had already begun to print the volume; upon moving from Eliza-

bethtown, they probably turned over to Kollock the finished sheets, together with the types to complete the work and to fulfil their contract with Mervin Hale, the publisher. A notice in Kollock's *New Jersey Journal,* May 10, 1814, seems to bear out this supposition: "Proposal for publishing by subscription Thomas Halyburton's The Great Concern of Salvation. The above work is now in the press, and will shortly be published *at this office* [italics mine], where subscriptions are taken in."

Note also a "Second Elizabeth-Town edition" of this work, bearing imprint: Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Published by Mervin Hale. J & E. Sanderson, printers, 1815. 16mo. ix, 428p. *Copy:* RU.

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the second sitting of the thirty-eighth session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1814. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1477]-1594p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of joint-meeting, p. [273]-287; also: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting at the second sitting, p. [289]-296.

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. JOURNAL of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the thirty-ninth session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1814. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1597]-1766p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL, RU.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [297]-319.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1815 . . . By David Young, philom. . . . Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed and sold by S. Kollock, printer and bookseller—and by various booksellers and merchants throughout the country [1814]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, NJHS (imperf.), RU.

First issue in which the arms of New Jersey appear.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 8, 1814: "Just published . . . "

1815

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the fortieth session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1815. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1769]-1791p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL.

OGDEN, UZAL, 1744?-1822. A sermon on early piety . . . Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, opposite the Academy, 1815. 8vo. 20p. *Copies:* H, NJHS, RU.

On verso of t.p.: " . . . The ensuing Sermon is published at the request and expense of Mr. Joseph Barron, of Woodbridge, in the State of New-Jersey, *to give away,* with a view to promote the interest of the Redeemer's kingdom . . . " Joseph Barron, a wealthy citizen of Woodbridge, died July 4, 1831, aged 68 years (Dally, *History of Woodbridge,* p. 238).

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1816 . . . By David Young, philom. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed and sold by S. Kollock, printer and bookseller—and by various booksellers and merchants throughout the country [1815]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, LC, NJHS (imperf.), NYHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* Nov. 7, 1815: "Just published . . . "

WATTS, ISAAC, 1674-1748. Devout exercises of the heart, in meditation and soliloquy, prayer and praise. By the late pious and ingenious Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe. Reviewed and published, at her request, by I. Watts, D.D. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, opposite the Academy, 1815. 32mo. 115p. *Copy:* HL.

1816

MCDOWELL, JOHN, 1780-1863. Questions on the Bible, for the use of schools. Elizabeth-Town: Isaac A. Kollock, 1816. 12mo. 166p. *Copy:* H?

Second edition: Elizabeth-Town: Isaac A. Kollock, 1816. 161, [1]p. *Copy:* RU.

New Jersey. Legislature. Legislative Council. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the second sitting of the fortieth session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1816. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1795]-1928p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [321]-347.

New Jersey. Legislature. Legislative Council. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New-Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the forty-first session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1816. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1931]-1954p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, RU.

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Plan of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, located in Princeton, New-Jersey. Adopted by the General Assembly of 1811, and amended by future assemblies. Second edition. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Isaac A. Kollock, 1816. 8vo. 23p. *Copies:* H? RU.

With this is bound: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Sketch of the rise, progress and present state of the Theological Seminary . . . Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1817. 19p.

Smollett, Tobias George, 1721-1771. The adventures of Peregrine Pickle. In which are included, memoirs of a lady of quality . . . Embellished with engravings. New York: Published by David Huntington. Isaac A. Kollock, printer, 1816. 4v. 12mo. fronts. *Copy:* H?

Only the first two volumes were printed by Isaac A. Kollock; Volume 3 was printed by T. & W. Mercein, and Volume 4 by S. Marks.

The United States almanac, for the year of our Lord 1817 . . . By David Young, philom. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed and sold by S. Kollock, printer and bookseller—and by various booksellers and merchants throughout the country

[1816]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* NJHS, RU.

Advertised in New Jersey Journal, Nov. 5, 1816: "Just published . . . "

1817

New Jersey. Legislature. Legislative Council. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the second sitting of the forty-first session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1817. 8vo. 1 p.l., [1959]-2078p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [351]-374.

New Jersey. Legislature. Legislative Council. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the first sitting of the forty-second session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1817. 8vo. 1 p.l., [2083]-2108. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL, NYSL.

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Sketch of the rise, progress present state of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. To which is subjoined, a copy of the constitution of the Seminary. Published by order of the Board of Directors. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy, 1817. 8vo. 19p. *Copies:* H, PHS, RU.

Also bound with: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Plan of the Theological Seminary . . . located at Princeton . . . Second edition. Elizabeth-Town: Isaac A. Kollock, 1816. 23p.

[Seton, Elizabeth A.] Memoirs of Mrs. S*****. Written by herself. A fragment of real history. First edition. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed and published by I. A. Kollock, 1817. 12mo. [5],6-88p. *Copies:* Georgetown Univ. Library, NYHS.

Sabin 79335; Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana,* Pt. 1,

pp. 236-37. Printed without authority, probably at the behest of Bishop Hobart.

THE UNITED STATES ALMANAC, for the year of our Lord 1818 . . . By David Young, philom. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, nearly opposite the Academy [1817]. 12mo. 18 leaves. *Copies:* AAS, Morristown Library, NYHS, RU.

Not advertised.

1818

A LETTER in answer to the "Speech of the Rev. Dr. Mason, at the thirteenth anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society." Printed in the "Christian Herald, vol. III. Saturday, September 6, 1817. No. 24." By a soldier of the American Revolution. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, for the author, 1818. 8vo. 28p. *Copies:* AAS, H. HL, NYHS, RU.

Advertised in *New Jersey Journal,* March 3, 1818: "Just published . . . For sale by Phineas Freeman, Woodbridge, Michael Brown, Bridgetown, and at this office. Price 25 cents."

NEW JERSEY. LEGISLATURE. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. Journal of the proceedings of the Legislative Council of the state of New Jersey . . . Being the second sitting of the forty-second session. Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Printed by Shepard Kollock, one of the printers to the state, 1818. 8vo. 1 p.l., [2111]-2222p. *Copies:* NJHS, NJSL.

With this is bound: Minutes of the proceedings of the joint-meeting, p. [375]-394.

GENEALOGIST'S CORNER

FRED SHELLEY

We are aware that many of the Society's members have some degree of interest in family history. With this thought in mind, we print irregularly a brief column in the form seen below. To be of greatest value to the greatest number of genealogists, it is used to bring to the reader's attention certain of the sources of genealogical information available for consultation in the Society's library.

THE census of the United States is taken each ten years as the Constitution requires. The schedules for New Jersey for 1790, 1800, 1810, and 1820 were destroyed, apparently by fire, years ago.* The New Jersey Historical Society has now, thanks to the generosity of several patriotic societies, microfilm copies of the censuses for New Jersey for 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880. The most recent gift, now publicly acknowledged for the first time, is the 1880 census presented by the New Jersey State Chapter of the National Society of Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America.

Taken together, these censuses cover a sixty-year period and list hundreds of thousands of persons who lived in the Garden State. All of the microfilms are available to searchers in the library. The library staff is too small to do research for anyone making an inquiry by telephone or letter, and everyone is invited to use the microfilms in the reading room. The 1880 New Jersey census is on thirty-one reels of microfilm, in contrast to the five reels needed for the 1830 census. There are sixty-three reels in all.

Beginning in 1850, the census records list each person by name, with age, birthplace, and other useful information such as occupation. Many persons have used these films already, both for genealogical and historical research, and many will want to do so in the course of future work.

*See R. B. Rankin, "Genealogical Sources in New Jersey: Census Records," *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, VIII (1932/3), 49-56.

NEW JERSEY HISTORY NEWS

ROBERT M. LUNNY

THE principal news of the winter at the Society was the third annual series of lectures known as "The Tradition of the American Home." This year they were on "Taste in Collecting" and brought together outstanding collectors of American furniture and decorative arts and specialists on the subjects of American costume, pewter, and silver. The talks were again sponsored by the Woman's Branch and the University Extension Division of Rutgers the State University. Speaking at one of the sessions, Miss Alice Winchester, editor of *Antiques Magazine,* said she has had a particular interest in the series since its inception three years ago because these talks are a direct outgrowth of the Antiques Forums at Williamsburg. It was indeed those lectures which prompted Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen to inaugurate this series in New Jersey.

The underlying idea of the lectures was to explore that elusive quality we call "taste" and to see how it manifested itself in costumes, pewter, and silver. Mrs. Margaret Brown Klapthor, an associate curator in the Department of Civil History, United States National Museum, a part of the Smithsonian Institution, spoke on "White House Fashions and Decorations." Mrs. Brown is responsible for the famous collection of gowns of the First Ladies in their handsome White House settings at the Smithsonian. Her delightful talk, filled with many amusing and little-known facts about the wearers of these dresses, made the particular point that we can only understand costume of any period by knowing its setting in the interior decorations of that time. Elaborate gowns, for example, are always best in elaborate settings.

The second idea of the lectures was to hear from three collectors how they developed a taste for collecting. Mrs. Lammot du Pont Copeland, who is First Regent of the Board of Regents of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America and thus largely responsible for Gunston Hall at Lorton, Virginia, spoke on "The Evolution of a Collector." Mrs. Copeland described those factors and events which from early childhood have shaped her interest in antiques, resulting in the fine collection she and Mr. Copeland have built over a number of years. One of those early incidents that made such an impression was a visit as a small child to Gunston Hall when she promised herself

that some day she would have such a house. The collection of the Copelands is handsomely placed in the setting of several period rooms installed in their home at Greenville, Delaware, and the illustrations of the lecture showed the growth of the collection and the changing preferences of the collectors.

Mr. Harry O. H. Frelinghuysen, the recently elected president of the Society, was the moderator at that first session on March 13.

A week later the worst snowstorm of the season failed to keep nearly fifty people from appearing to hear Miss Winchester preside at a meeting at which two more distinguished guests spoke. The first was Mr. Maxim Karolik of Newport and Boston who, with his late wife Martha Codman Karolik, assembled three great collections for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: the M. and M. Karolik collections of eighteenth-century American arts, American paintings from 1815 to 1865, and the third of prints and drawings from 1800 to 1875 not yet open to the public.

In "The Meaning of the Karolik Collections" Mr. Karolik, speaking or rather reading from his writings in a most informal manner (he was seated behind a table) told of those thoughts and aims by which Mrs. Karolik and he were guided since they began the collections. He had been impressed by the spontaneity of art in America and the general high caliber which raised so many American craftsmen to the level of artists. To return those arts to the public, from which they had sprung rather than from the academicians, has been the aim of the donors. Following his short talk, Mr. Karolik led a discussion based on his provocative remarks.

Mr. Thomas D. Williams, recognized as one of the several men in this country who know most about American pewter, talked on "Pewter as a Collectible." In a talk as carefully prepared as were his slides, Mr. Williams pointed out the salient facts on the work of the pewterers and showed superb examples of the work of the great craftsmen of this country. No wonder the appeal of pewter as a collectible after hearing Mr. Williams and seeing the examples which he showed!

The third afternoon of the series was presided over by Mrs. Frelinghuysen. The specialist that day was Mr. G. Carroll Lindsay who, like Mrs. Klapthor, is also an associate curator at the Smithsonian, in the Division of Cultural History. Mr. Lindsay, speaking on "Style in American Silver," showed how tastes change and style developes in succeeding periods. As with furniture and architecture, silver in this country came to be designed along lines original and vigorous in styles characteristically American. The roots of our designs were traced to their foreign origins. The slides shown by Mr. Lindsay illustrated some of the best pieces collected.

A fine collection deserves a fine setting. This is certainly applicable to the home of Mrs. George Maurice Morris, "The Lindens," and its

contents. Mrs. Morris told the story of moving the fine three-story house, built in 1754 by "King" Hooper, from Danvers, Massachusetts, to Washington, D.C. when she and the late Mr. Morris wished to enjoy it as their home. Its contents are a splendid group of eighteenth-century pieces handsomely set in a house preserved with great feeling and respect. "The Renascence of 'The Lindens'" was a delightful account of the joys and trials of collecting not only decorative arts and furniture but a house too. Mrs. Morris' slides were as excellent as her delightful talk.

Plans are already under way for a 1959 series. It is not too late, of course, to welcome any suggestions not only as to subject but as to any aspect of these lectures. They are coming to be known beyond the Jersey shore and borders, and the Woman's Branch wants to bring you the subjects you want to hear discussed by the best possible lecturers.

Mrs. Richard Hartshorne, Mrs. S. Whitney Landon, Mrs. Erwin Reissman, and others made the intermissions pleasant by serving punch. The guests had an opportunity to examine the excellent collection of books on the subjects of the lectures set up by the Art and Music Department of the Newark Public Library. The booklist was available for distribution. Miss Julia Sabine has generously offered each year of the series to have the display and the list compiled.

Shown in connection with the lectures were several small exhibits. One was the evolution of the spoon and the development of its style from 1750 to 1850 in a small collection on loan from Mrs. Joseph S. Frelinghuysen. The fine teapot made by Elias Boudinot about 1750 for the Stockton family was also on display. Several pieces from the costume collection were shown. And the plumbago drawings of John Watson, the Scot who settled in Perth Amboy, were brought out for the visitors to see these works of one of the earliest American portrait painters.

The Woman's Branch has not only presented those lectures but has been tremendously helpful in making possible the painting of rooms in the Society which needed attention so badly. The room on the second floor now designated the "Little Gallery" between the stair hall and the New Jersey History Gallery has just been painted an off-white to make this windowless room as light as possible. It will be reopened in the autumn with a special exhibition to be announced later to be followed in the winter by an exhibition of exceptional interest of paintings from a private collection. The Little Gallery will thereafter be used specifically for the showing of maps and prints and for small special exhibitions of all kinds.

The Trustees Room has also been painted off-white and now contains several pieces of eighteenth-century furniture brought from storage.

One of these, a fine little secretary bearing the label of its New York maker, Thomas Burling, has been badly treated by various hands and soon will be restored, thanks again to the generosity and the proclivity for good housekeeping of the Woman's Branch. The Trustees Room, to which visitors are always welcome, will continue to serve as the office of the director.

Classes of school children visit the Museum almost daily particularly to see the exhibition "New Jersey Transportation." They also come in family groups on Saturdays. But children are not the only ones who come in groups; adults too visit us to learn at first hand of the purposes and facilities of the Society. Two such groups are the Essex County Chapter, Reference Services Division of the American Library Association, which visited the Society in February and the Library Circulation Club, which came in March. Members of these two organizations are in strategic positions to lead researchers to the Library of the Society. The librarian and the director each talked with them and they saw both Museum and Library.

Last December an appraisal was made of the collections in the Museum of the Society. This work, the expense of which was covered by contributions of several members particularly interested in the Museum, is the first step in the long-needed survey of the collections for their proper care and decision as to which of them are to be developed. Members of the Museum Committee and the director with staff assistance have been examining the painting collection and that work has been virtually completed. Next to be started is the long and laborious task of cataloging those objects which antedate the present record system instituted several years ago. The day-long stints by interested and faithful members of the Museum Committee are greatly appreciated. Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen, Mrs. Richard Hartshorne, Mrs. James C. Higgins, and Mrs. W. Clark Symington are those who have helped thus far.

We are very glad to co-operate with the Museums Council of New Jersey (the director is chairman of the Council) in its efforts to give publicity to tours of historic houses and gardens. These are either annual events or are announced for the coming spring. In response to a questionnaire to historical societies sent recently by Mrs. Rosa A. Livingston, chairman of the Tours and Pilgrimages Committee, the following information was obtained:

Salem County Historical Society; Mrs. James H. Green, 15 Oak Street, Salem. Twenty houses in Salem County open annually last Saturday and Sunday in April (26 and 27, 1958).

The Garden Club of New Jersey; Mrs. Harry T. Maxwell, 47 Maple Avenue, Morristown. Ten houses

and gardens open in Princeton, including Morven, Thursday, 11 A.M. to 5 P.M., May 1, 1958. $4.

Geological Society of New Jersey Fossil Collection Trip, Mrs. Patricia O'Brien, Secretary, New Jersey State Museum, State House Annex, Trenton 25, for itinerary and reservations on Saturday, May 3, 1958.

Old Barracks Association Two Hundredth Anniversary; Mrs. Frederick B. Williamson, New Hope, Pa. Open house at the Barracks, Trenton, Tuesday, 2 to 4 P.M., May 6, 1958.

Morristown Junior Chamber of Commerce and Morristown Chapter D. A. R.; Dr. Richard T. Burns, Washington Valley, Morristown. Colonial Day in Morristown, from 9:30 A.M. annually first Saturday in June (7, 1958). Pageant, open houses, and ball; $5 per couple subscription to ball. Also a charge for house tour.

Cape May County Art League; Mr. Raymond Dixon, Woodbine R. D. Tour of old houses of Cape May County held annually the second Friday of July (11, 1958) 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

Incomplete information was received on a weekly tour of "Old Houses of Cape Island" during the summer months. For further information write Rev. John Pemberton, Jr., c/o Victorian Mansion, Cape May.

Paramus Historical and Preservation Society Celebration of the founding of Ho-Ho-Kus; John Doty, director, 650 East Glen Avenue, Ridgewood. The museum, private houses, and collections open Saturday, 1:30 to 5 P.M., October 4, 1958. Public invited.

There is an annual observance of Washington's Birthday at the Dey Mansion from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., at Totowa Road, Wayne.

The other societies have been quite busy. Here are some of their events noted most briefly: Basking Ridge recently heard a paper, "The Life of a Farm Boy" which was originally written in 1930 by William Childs, co-founder of the restaurant chain. At an open house in January the Lippincott family was honored by the Burlington County group. The author of *Iron in the Pines,* Arthur Pierce, spoke at the Cape May society in the winter. The ninety-fifth anniversary of East Orange was observed there when Mayor William McConnell spoke before the society on Abraham Lincoln.

The Historical Society of Early American Decoration will meet June 4-6 at Chalfonte-Haddon Hall. Old tools and household utensils were recently displayed at Kearny Museum—a loan exhibition from the New Jersey Historical Society. At Long Branch the historical museum will again be open weekends this summer. At the Morris County group the director spoke in March on the variety of forms historical interest takes and how this variety puts a burden on an historical society when it attempts to make a broad appeal. A former president of the same local society spoke in April on early houses and forgotten spots in Morristown.

The Museums Council of New Jersey met in January at the Newark Museum for a luncheon, business meeting, and discussion of museum records. The annual meeting was held on April 11 as arranged by Chester H. Newkirk, director of the Morris Junior Museum, featuring a visit to several historic Morristown houses. A new historical group has just been formed. It is the Monmouth County Civil War Round Table and its secretary is Mrs. R. G. Predham, 64 Avondale Avenue, Neptune City.

The show "Our Town" at the Newark Museum closed in March after having been visited by 75,000 The frequent programs of the Art and Music Department of the Newark Public Library are especially interesting. You might watch for them. At the annual dinner of the group in Nutley the talk of the evening was "The Edison Laboratory" by Norman R. Speiden. The Nutley Historical Society has recently purchased a set of the *New Jersey Archives* and the *Collections* of the New Jersey Historical Society for its growing library. At the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society in February Mrs. Howard Witherhead, the vice-president, showed numerous Civil War photographs taken by her famous great-great-uncle, Matthew Brady. Incidentally, the Paramus group puts out a fine brochure on its program for the entire season and other information for members and hoped-for-members. At Ramsey an invitation showing of old teapots fetched sixty from far and near.

The society in Somerset County recently heard Dr. Broadus Mitchell, biographer of Alexander Hamilton, speak on Hamilton and his relationship with Somerset County. They have a very active junior chapter there and would certainly be glad to discuss the work with children with others considering such a program. At its annual meeting the active society in Springfield elected as president Howard F. Casselman. The West Milford Township Historical Society in a recent letter briefly mentioned that it opened a museum in March.

These brief notes can do no more than suggest the programs of those societies who reply to a request for information each quarter.

"History in Miniature," a special exhibition at the New Jersey State Museum, Trenton, opened on December 15 and will continue through June 8. The exhibition, presented with the co-operation of the Miniature Figure Collectors of America, shows by means of miniature figures historic events and personages of England, France, and America.

A brief explanatory section gives the exhibition visitor a background of techniques and terminology which are especially pertinent to this hobby, which dates from the late 19th century although miniature figures were made even in prehistoric times. Figures, which vary in size generally from about 25mm. to 60mm., also appear in different forms—flats, semi-flats and fully round. With these figures a

collector, through casting, repainting, his own painting or conversion, well mixed with his own imagination and ingenuity, can create figures to suit his particular needs.

Series of figures in the first special exhibits gallery show the sovereigns of England from William the Conqueror (1066-1087) to Queen Elizabeth II; the history of British military uniforms of both the Empire and the Commonwealth from 1642 to 1957; Napoleon, his generals, marshals and men; and the Coronation Procession of Elizabeth II in 1952. Dioramas and groups portray dramatically the signing of the Magna Carta (1215), the Battle of Hastings (1066), and the battles of Eylau (1897) and Borodino (1812) during the Napoleonic Wars.

Personages and events from American history dominate the second gallery. Dioramas show such classic events of the American Revolution as the Battle of Bunker Hill, Paul Revere's ride, the seven mile march to Trenton from Washington's Crossing, and the Hessians in Trenton; as well as scenes from the War of 1812, the Civil War and the period of winning the West. A massing of nearly 500 figures shows the Battle of Gettysburg while other figures show varieties in American military uniforms from the time of the American Revolution to the present day.

A selection of source materials—books, prints, cigarette cards, contemporary paintings, tapestries and verbal descriptions is displayed to show how extensive historic research is an integral part of an adult hobby which is each year gaining new enthusiasts.

The New Jersey State Museum, located in the State House Annex on West State Street, adjacent to the State Capitol in Trenton, is open daily from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., Sundays and holidays from 2 to 5 P.M.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

JANE P. Stroebel, currently registrar of the Newark Museum, was formerly assistant in the Junior Museum, where she came to know and appreciate the Museum's collection of dolls, some of which she describes here.

SOME OLD DOLLS IN NEWARK

JANE P. STROEBEL

A very charming former resident of the city of Newark has just returned to spend her days here. In big cities, with their ever-shifting populations, we do not often have the opportunity to renew old acquaintances and muse over times past with a personality that so clearly reflects her era.

This returned Newarker is an old wooden doll whose owner, now living in Rochester, New York, very thoughtfully decided to give her to the collection at the Newark Museum, since the doll is believed to have started life in this city. According to Wondergem family history, the doll, which is difficult to date exactly, belonged to a descendant of Robert Treat. There is some indication that the doll may date from the early eighteenth century. She is made—as so many American dolls were at that time—of wood, handcarved, with head and torso in one piece. Could this doll, with her stiff, narrow body, be the beloved toy of a little girl whose father carefully whittled the doll's shape from an old newel post? The doll, twenty-seven inches long, resembles nothing so much as a round-top, narrow-trunked post. The marks from the lathe-turning of the post show on the lower part of the body. Under her petticoats, she has the original solid base shape where the post must have rested on a platform. The maker, in order to give a more human shape to the rigid form, has flattened the back of the body from the shoulders down, giving her a perfect posture. The head and body to the waist are covered with a thick layer of gesso, making a smooth grain-free surface on which the paint is applied. The doll has a fine pinkish-yellow flesh color which is the original paint, although badly chipped and cracked all over the head. In addition, there may be a later layer of very thin paint.

This description should not imply that she is ugly. Her charm far eclipses her folk origin. The Wondergem family doll has most unusual brown glass (or possibly porcelain) eyes. They are a perfect almond shape, with round pupils,

giving the face a wide-eyed staring expression. Shaping the eye this way can be noted also in early eighteenth-century portraits. An outstanding example of this is the Family Portrait by John Wollaston in the collection of the Newark Museum. These eyes are set into the solid wood head in little sockets carved exactly to fit the eyes. One wonders whether the possession of two fine doll's eyes, or of a balustrade post, available for carving, supplied the original inspiration for this doll. Her painted-on eyelashes and little rosebud mouth add to her vacant, "wooden-headed" appearance. There is very little deep, incised carving or modeling in the face. It is especially flat with a tiny protruding triangular nose, with a little shaping and tapering along the jaw and chin. There are no ears. Unfortunately, poor doll, she has no hair. Possibly there had been little wisps of human hair attached to a cap which she wore. There is also evidence that hair of some kind might have been attached by nails which are driven into the head. There are embedded pieces of cloth under the nails and this cloth may have had hair sewn to it. The head has, as well, other hand-wrought nails in it, *under* the layers of gesso, which might have been in the post originally.

A description of the doll is not complete without a word about her jointed legs and arms, thoughtfully articulated but crudely carved. Slit sockets are cut in the torso, into which are fastened the legs. These are attached to the body by a copper wire running through horizontal holes. The leg tops have projecting tabs which fit into the sockets in the body. Legs and body fit together much as an electric plug fits into its socket. The arm joints are more cleverly contrived. They are made of a stuffed cloth strip fastened to shoulder and wooden arm end. These soft joints give the doll fashionable sloping, lady-like shoulders which add greatly to her erect, surprised appearance. The symmetry of legs and arms, with the human form indicating derivation from a more basic shape, suggests that these parts may have been whittled from existing railings or chair stretchers of some kind. The doll has "mitten-hands," with no fingers indicated.

The dear old doll is now dressed only in her white cotton pantalets, chemise, and petticoat. These are all trimmed in a narrow lace edging, carefully tucked and hemmed in tiny hand-sewn stitches.

This interesting example of folk art is a very worth-while addition to the Museum's doll collection, where this early, home-made doll can be compared to the many more sophisticated commercial or home-assembled dolls.

This doll calls to mind another fascinating one in the Newark Museum's collection which had a history of wandering the country until finally coming "home" to Newark. "Dolly Simpson" was made for Marybelle Simpson, who was born in California in 1855. How the doll's head reached the West Coast remains a mystery, but

the china head was joined by Marybelle's mother to a well-made cloth body, legs, and kid arms. She is dressed in the pioneer fashion of the day: a brown checked gingham dress with bateau neckline, filled in with a white kerchief. Over her painted-on black hair, parted in the middle, which is molded in one with the china head, is tied a linen "sun shade" so typical of those worn by women living on frontier posts. "Dolly Simpson's" adventures started soon after she was made for Marybelle. The Simpson family returned in 1858 to Newark from California via the Isthmus of Panama and then a boat to New York. Marybelle, who was three and a half at the time, recalled carrying the doll as they crossed the Isthmus by train, where she was greatly frightened by a monkey carried by another passenger. "Dolly Simpson" is a fine example of the commercially-made head attached to a home-made body by a parent, to make an attractive child's toy. This procedure of buying a head and attaching a homemade body, then dressing the doll in fashionable clothes, was the rule for many years. A number of dolls of this period (mid-nineteenth century) have lovely china or bisque heads with crude but lovingly-made home-crafted bodies, arms, and legs.

A pair of dolls created with great imagination as a Christmas gift for Marybelle Simpson in 1867 are "General" and "Mrs. Arlington." These are a wonderful reflection of the time. Marybelle's father was a surgeon in the Union Army. Two older cousins made and accurately dressed the pair of dolls to represent an army general and his bride. The general wears his blue serge uniform, gold sash, visor cap, tucked white shirt and little black moustache. "Hattie," his bride, with her unusual brown eyes, wears a wide-skirted print lawn dress and flannel petticoat, as well as a starched collar, lace-trimmed petticoat, and charming lace stockings.

Dolls have a tradition of being not only play-baubles but of serving more practical ends as well. Toys, and especially dolls, have been used for the instruction of little girls in creating an interest in many housewifely arts. "Hattie Arlington" and the "General" are a good example of this tradition. They were made as a pair, and Hattie has a trousseau packed in a little crash-covered trunk (marked originally with "A. W. Arlington USA") consisting of thirteen gowns, two handkerchiefs, and an ermine-trimmed wrap. What an exciting toy this must have been to a little girl, daughter of an army officer, living during the Civil War! The toy must have perfectly complemented the imaginative world of a little girl of this time.

The history of another bride and groom, created a generation after "Hattie" and "General Arlington," is of local New Jersey interest. This pair, dating from 1892, was made up of two imported dolls. The entire doll—head, body, arms, and legs—was commercially made in

Dolls: A bride and groom of 1892. Donated by Mrs. Samuel B. Clark for the annual South Park Church fair, in Newark. They were purchased at the fair for Mrs. Clark by her husband. *(Newark Museum photograph.)*

DOLLS: "General Audrey W. Arlington" and his bride (whose trousseau included thirteen gowns) were under the Christmas tree of Marybelle Simpson in 1867. *(Newark Museum photograph.)*

Germany and reflects a great advance over simple glazed china heads attached to home-made kid bodies. The bride and groom of 1892 have bisque heads and composition bodies showing extraordinary realism of expression and coloring. Each has face and arms of natural flesh tints, eyes set separately in the head. Their glass eyes are made with great realism. Each doll smiles with an open mouth showing little white teeth. And hair! Lovely, luxurious hair, fashionably dressed, attached in a piece of cloth and carefully glued into place. The hands, molded with each finger separate from the other in an expressive position, show great advance over the old type of kid arms with fingers indicated only by stitching.

For all their exquisite perfection, these dolls were never the plaything of any little girl. Their history is most interesting, however. The "Ladies Aid" of South Park Church in Newark held its annual fair in 1892, specializing in dolls. Mrs. Samuel Clark offered to donate a bride and groom for charity. They were exactly dressed in the fashion of the day, and no bride or groom could ask for more carefully detailed outfits. The groom's suit was made by a local tailor, "H. H. Smith, Newark, N.J.," whose label appears in the coat. He wears the fashionable ascot and picadilly, cutaway coat and vest with lapels. To complete his splendor, he boasts a diamond stick-pin. The blonde, curly-haired bride wears a gown made by Miss Sarah Underhill, a well-known, favorite dressmaker of the day. The dress was made of the finest materials, copied after Mrs. Clark's own wedding outfit. The white kid shoes are imported from France, and the lovely bride holds her own little lace-edged handkerchief. Of interest is the story that the doll was marked "sold" on the first night, and at the end of the fair it was revealed that Mr. S. B. Clark had bought back these charming dolls. For many years they were the show pieces for the children, young visitors, and friends of the Clarks.

Somehow, it would seem that dolls which have not been played with never develop the particular character or personality, for all their perfection and history, that loved and battered dolls develop from living through the years with a small mistress.

A visit to the doll counter of a modern department store points up the fact that nowadays dolls are bought completely dressed—often with a trunk of their own ready-made outfits, reflecting all the activities of a modern girl: scouting, ice-skating, swimming, dancing, etc. The age-old purpose of dolls for girls is reflected still in the manufacturers' providing them with clothes and accessories, but how rarely a modern doll expresses the life and experience of one particular little girl, like Marybelle Simpson. Nor do we see in our modern dolls the imaginative perception which caused the creation of the Wondergem doll from an old post!

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

In this department are combined short articles based on holdings of the Society's library, and listings of new publications about New Jersey. The contributors, Mr. Shelley and Miss Studley are, respectively, librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society and principal New Jersey librarian of the Newark Public Library.

FROM THE LIBRARY

FRED SHELLEY

In Sussex County a girl ice skates every winter and in Cape May County a boy wishes it would snow enough for him to use the sled he got for Christmas: Such is the variety in the climate of New Jersey and the outlook of its citizens. Cape May, after all, is directly east of Annapolis, Maryland, while High Point is on a latitude with New Haven, Connecticut. In South Jersey there are outlooks that through the years have been southern as often as northern. To dramatize this geographical and cultural point many persons have said that part of New Jersey—all of Cumberland and Cape May, most of Salem and Atlantic, and bits of Gloucester, Burlington, and Ocean counties—lies south of the Mason and Dixon Line. But is this really so?

None can dispute the fact that parts of New Jersey are south of the southern border of Pennsylvania if projected eastward, and the Maryland-Pennsylvania line is indeed part of the Mason and Dixon Line. But if we want to be accurate we should, for a few minutes, follow Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon on their surveying expedition that began in 1763.* Their task was to mark the line between the Lord Baltimore's colony (Maryland) and that of the Penns (Pennsylvania and Delaware). They arrived in Philadelphia on November 15, 1763, and spent a month unpacking their equipment. After some preliminary work in the vicinity of Philadelphia, Mason and Dixon went to the "Middle Point," a spot half way across the Delmarva Peninsula. That point, which is the southwestern corner of Delaware, and the southern border of Delaware had been established a few years earlier and was accepted without resurvey. The three lower counties, as Delaware was often known, belonged to the Penns and were linked with Pennsylvania until the Revolution. From "Middle Point" the surveyors went eighty-two miles north to the spot common to Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, thence west to the

*William H. Bayliff's study *Boundary Monuments on the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries* (Annapolis, 1951) is a useful one in this connection. Unfortunately this pamphlet is out of print.

Monongahela River. Properly speaking, the Mason and Dixon Line is the southern and western boundary of Delaware and the boundary line of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

When the slavery question was rife, most people forgot, if they ever knew, that the Delaware-Maryland line was part of the Mason and Dixon Line. Overlooked was the fact that Delaware, a slave state, was north and east of the line. South Jersey, too, is north and east of the line. If facts count, we should know the facts about New Jersey and the famous line. Yet these points of view held in that part of the state.

WHO ARE THE HOBBYISTS IN NEW JERSEY?

The Society has a small card file that lists by name, hobby, and locality some of the persons whose hobbies relate in one or another way to New Jersey history. Do you photograph New Jersey churches, study the abandoned mines of Passaic County, specialize in the history of shipwrecks off the Jersey shore, or ferret out the facts about Somerset County houses? If you have a bobby of this sort, will you send us a line with the essential facts? What will come of our listing should not be predicted, but the possibilities are many.

A LIBRARY NEED

The Society library lacks several issues of *The Magazine Antiques*. If you have any or all of these issues and would be willing to present it or them, you can help us complete our set. Needed are all issues in 1922, 1923, and 1925. (There are a few duplicate copies which can be "swapped" for issues the library lacks.)

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

Richard A. Herzberg, who reviews the new history of the Mutual Benefit, is publications manager of the Prudential Life Insurance Company. A Seton Hall graduate in the class of 1949, Miss Kircher, reviewer of the centennial history of that university, is supervising children's librarian of the Newark Public Library. Miss Benjamin is known to everyone seriously interested in the collection of autographs and manuscripts. She continues the firm organized by her father many years ago and is the author of *Autographs: a Key to Collecting*. Mr. Flynn teaches New Jersey history at Fairleigh Dickinson University (Teaneck campus). He reviews Judge Arthur J. O'Dea's essay on Washington and his army in Bergen County.

REVIEWS

Since 1845—A History of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company. By MILDRED F. STONE. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957. 246 pages. Price $4.50.)

One of the few life insurance companies in the United States old enough to have had slaves as policyholders is Newark's Mutual Benefit. Others among those who held early policies were a captain of a sailing vessel on the trans-Atlantic run, whalers out of Sag Harbor, L.I., before that port yielded to Nantucket and New Bedford as a whaling center, and an unfortunate New York merchant, age thirty-five, who bought a $5,000 policy nine months after the company's charter was signed and died before its first year was completed. How different life was in 1845 is shown in the company's report on the case, its first claim, which said that the widow and two children were living independently on the proceeds.

The story Miss Stone has to tell is a fascinating one, full of details about the difficulties of conducting a life insurance business when policyholders might pull up stakes and head for "Californy" and gold and die where their very identities as policyholders were clouded. Establishing proof of death under these circumstances frequently depended on the most circumstantial evidence and sometimes pure coincidence. But the company overrode these difficulties, as it did cholera and yellow fever epidemics, victims of which were normally buried within a few hours to avoid further spread of infection. More serious were deaths from tuberculosis, at one time amounting to one-fifth of the claims made.

War also presented problems. The Civil War cut the company from its policyholders below the Mason Dixon line; after the war, company president Amzi Dodd attended personally to the problems of the Southern members, settling death claims, paying an equitable value in surrendered policies, and reinstating others. Among those on whom claims were paid during the Spanish-American War was Captain Charles V. Gridley, to whom Admiral Dewey said, "You may fire when ready," at the Battle of Manila. World War I had less effect on the claim rate than the following influenza epidemic—a total of 1,489 claims being paid for flu deaths opposed to 556 battle casualties and service deaths. The depression and World War II also brought special problems.

Through all this, however, Miss Stone shows, the company continued its growth and industry leadership, based on conservative management and refusal to follow the more speculative schemes that brought trouble to some companies. It refused, for example, to issue tontine policies, whereby dividends for a group of policies were accumulated and split after a number of years among the survivors. Instead, the non-forfeiture provisions were introduced into Mutual Benefit policies in 1879, specifying policyholders' rights on surrendered

policies. When the Hughes-Armstrong investigation revealed that the practices of some companies were extravagant, Mutual Benefit was among those that escaped censure.

Miss Stone documents the close connection of her company with the city that grew up with it. The first three home offices before it moved to 300 Broadway in 1927 were near Market and Broad streets. Its decision in 1954 to build a new home office building near Washington Park is credited with being the first step of the Newark rehabilitation program.

Miss Stone, a Vassar alumna, is the first and only woman officer of the Mutual Benefit. Her treatment of the history of the company for which she works draws heavily on source material and on an earlier account of the company written in 1932 by Dr. William R. Ward, then company medical director. The result is a carefully documented account of progress and leadership that includes many interesting sidelights on the history of Newark and the growth of life insurance as well.—Richard A. Herzberg.

The Summit of a Century: the Centennial Story of Seton Hall University 1856-1956. (South Orange: Seton Hall University, 1956. 109 pages.)

Seton Hall University has traveled a long way from that September day in 1956 when, as the first Catholic institution of higher education in New Jersey, it opened its doors to admit its first five students. Today Seton Hall's enrollment is 9,122, and it is the third-largest Catholic college in the country, surpassed in enrollment only by Marquette University and the University of Detroit.

Founded in Madison by the Most Reverend James Roosevelt Bayley, first bishop of Newark, Seton Hall soon moved to its present site in South Orange. Its early days were ones of poverty made more acute by three disastrous fires. But such was the quality of its leadership and will to survive that it weathered all storms. Seton Hall's enrollment was for many years small and it was associated in the minds of many as a preparatory school for the priesthood rather than as a liberal arts college in its own right. But during all these early years Seton Hall contributed many civic and business leaders to the state of New Jersey in addition to providing early training for future priests of the diocese of Newark. However, its mean enrollment averaged only 281 students.

A period of expansion for Seton Hall was inaugurated in 1937 when for the first time women students were admitted to the college and extension courses were given in Newark. In 1945 peace brought a further challenge to Seton Hall in a demand for further expansion of faculty and physical facilities to take care of the veterans who came knocking at its doors in ever increasing numbers. During the following year ninety-four percent of the one thousand students enrolled on the South Orange campus were

veterans. This was the highest percentage of any college in the nation.

By 1950 Seton Hall College had become a university with four distinct schools; Arts and Science, Business Administration, Education, and Nursing. To this was added a School of Law in 1951. Its centennial year saw the launching of New Jersey's first medical and dental college as a part of the University.

As stated in the College *Bulletin* of 1937: "Seton Hall seeks first to fit a man for the job of living and then for specific jobs; to teach men not only how we live, but why we live. To these ends, Seton Hall aims to develop the entire individual, intellectually, physically and morally." The *Summit of a Century* shows how this aim has been and is being accomplished.—CLARA J. KIRCHER.

A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society. By FRED SHELLEY. (Newark: the Society, 1957. 81 unnumbered pages. Price $2.50.)

A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society, compiled by Fred Shelley, librarian, and published by the New Jersey Historical Society, is certainly a labor of love. It is hard to imagine a more difficult task than an attempt to make order out of a heterogeneous mountain of material which covers a period extending from earliest colonial days to the present time. The Society's holdings, divided into 337 groups, consist of family papers, diaries, account books, church records, orderly books, surveyors' journals and private autograph collections, mostly, of course, of New Jersey interest, but also including national and international figures. Since 1845, the year of the Society's founding, they have been an important source of reference to scholars. Mr. Shelley's *Guide* now makes them an invaluable one.

Collections are for the most part listed by family titles or by subject, and a synopsis of contents, with range of dates, is given in each case; in a few instances names of those chiefly represented, or most famed, are also mentioned. An excellent alphabetical index of thirteen pages affords the researcher immediate information as to where material may be located. A guide such as the present one serves two purposes: It is of help to scholars; and it serves as an invitation to generous donors to add other related material to the present holdings.—MARY A. BENJAMIN.

Washington and His Army in Bergen County, November 13th-21st, 1776. By ARTHUR J. O'DEA. (Hackensack: Bergen County Bar Association, 1957. 39 pages. Price 50 cents.)

"For want of a nail . . . " the saying goes, but one might say after reading Judge O'Dea's pamphlet, "For want of a map—at least an accurate map—a war would be lost." *Washington and His Army in Bergen County* explores in detail a much-neglected situation in the early years of the fight for in-

dependence. Had this situation been resolved differently, the Revolution might have ended abruptly in complete defeat for the patriots. Even so, one will search hard and long to find more than a casual mention of the events of Wednesday, November 20, 1776.

After Fort Washington surrendered on November 16, 1776, General Howe planned a secret invasion of New Jersey aimed at trapping Washington and the remnants of his army between the Hackensack and Hudson Rivers. But for a fortunate combination of factors, the American Army, now reduced to about three thousand, might have followed into surrender their three thousand fellow soldiers captured at Fort Washington. Strangely enough, Howe's operational map showed New Bridge further south than its actual location. Fortunate too the discovery, by a lone patriot, of the British forces marching down Closter Dock Road. This patriot, identity still unknown, carried the alarm to General Greene at Fort Lee. Washington, alerted by Greene, escaped the potential trap by crossing the Hackensack at New Bridge, destroying the bridge, and withdrawing all boats to the west bank of the river. The next night the patriot army had crossed the Passaic, and by December 1776 was camped on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River. The trap had closed, but the quarry had fled.—WALTER H. FLYNN, JR.

This Is Livingston. (Livingston, N.J.: League of Women Voters of Livingston, 1957. 44 pages. Price 40 cents; order from Mrs. Hert Cornell, 74 Hazel Avenue.) Well-organized, forward-looking "Know Your Town" study, with maps, charts, business directory. The first chapter, on history and town characteristics, does well to call attention to Livingston as the scene of revolt against tyranny thirty years before the American Revolution officially began. However, there is confusion in the presentation of the Horseneck Riots and the role of the East Jersey Proprietors that might have been avoided by reference to the able discussion of the topics by Lynn Lockward in *A Puritan Heritage.*

Township of Matawan, 1857-1957. COMPILED BY MRS. FRANK TIEMANN. (Matawan Township, N.J.: Centennial Celebration Committee, 1957. 96 pages.)

You are in Newark; an Introduction to New Jersey's Largest City. (Newark, N.J.: Chamber of Commerce, 1958. 15 pages.) Free guide.

PERIODICALS

The *William and Mary Quarterly* for January 1958 contains a practical and thought-provoking review article on *Inexpensive Source Materials in Early American History* by Robert J. Taylor of the Department of History at Marietta College. Ranging from the *Old South Leaflets* (Old South Association, Old South Meeting House, Boston) to the most recent paper-backs, Mr. Taylor discusses contents and pres-

entation and laments among other things, the lack of specific primary source material on New Jersey in this type of publication. Here is a field whose needs might well be investigated by our society. A revolving publications fund devoted to publishing a pamphlet series of important New Jersey source materials would bring our society to the attention of teachers and students over a wide area.

These who may be impelled to seek and to read this provocative article must surely study and profit by Julian P. Boyd's excellent address before the Anglo-American Conference in London, July 10, 1957. Under the title "God's Altar Needs Not Our Polishings," it is published in *New York History,* January 1958. Discussing in authoritative and discriminating fashion the editing and publishing of the great source materials in American history from 1640 to 1957, Dr. Boyd relates these great publishing enterprises under government or scholarly auspices to the training of young scholars. His last paragraph must be quoted verbatim:

"It is of the greatest importance that historical societies, local, state, and regional, should reaffirm and renew their traditional concern for the editing and publication of documentary sources of every variety. By so doing, they will not only enrich our history and fulfill a part of their reason for existence, but will also establish a broad foundation on which a balanced program may rest securely."

Dr. Boyd, it will be remembered, is now professor of history at Princeton University, was from 1940 to 1952 librarian of Princeton University, a post he left in order to become editor of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson.*

Biography

"An American Dream Come True; Peter J. McGuire, Father of Labor Day," in *New Jersey Labor Herald,* August 1957, pp. 7, 12.

"Dr. Nicholas Belleville (1755-1831) — Aristocratic Physician," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* February 1958, pp. 71-77.

"Reverend Charles H. Halliwell," in *Relics,* January 1958, pp. 5, 6. Minister, First Congregational Church, Park Ridge.

"Stephen Burrage Reed," in *Relics* June-July 1957, p. 7. Woodcliff Borough architect and inventor, builder of City Hall, Paterson.

Business

"Cape [May] County Farming Progresses in Packaging and Marketing," by George W. Mingin, in *New Jersey County Government,* September 1957, pp. 26-7.

"China Forms a Guild—Five Pioneer Companies in the Relatively Unknown Field of Vitreous China Band Together to Promote an Understanding of Their Products," in *New Jersey Business,* June 1957, p. 20.

"The Community and the Chapter: Four Decades of Growth," in *Newark Red Cross News,* Fall 1957, p. 2.

"The Industrial Park—Portent of a New Era in Industrial-Residential Development—Part 1, Fairlawn, the Birth and Growth of an Industrial Park," by James R. Rice; Part 2, "Why an Industrial Park?," by Frank D. Garibaldi; Part 3, "Pointing Up Efficiency at Princeton Research Center," by Ralph M. Hager, in *New Jersey Business,* June 1957, pp. 16, 17, 30, 31, etc.

"Industrial Parks—a Tonic for Industry's Growing Pains," by Martin W. Flusser, in *New Jersey Business,* June 1957, pp. 32, 33.

"Insurance: New Developments in an Old Business," in *New Jersey Business,* Sept. 1957, pp. 23-29.

"Jinrikishas—from New Jersey," in *News from Home* (house organ of Home Insurance Company, N.Y.C.), *Autumn* 1957, pp. 4-8. James H. Birch, maker of "Celebrated Birch carriages, harnesses and jinrikishas," Burlington, N.J.

"Johnson & Johnson: Big Bold Growth," in *New Jersey Business,* July 1957, pp. 16, 17.

"Lackawanna among 16 Original Names," in *The Lackawanna,* March 1957, p. 19. Of 464 railroads listed in 1860 census, only 16 operate today under original names.

"The Life and Near-Death of a Small Community," by Emanuel A. Honig, former chairman, Industrial Commission of the Borough of Franklin, in *New Jersey Business,* November 1957, pp. 30-31, 33.

"Major Life Insurance Companies Based in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Business,* Sept. 1957, p. 29.

"Mercer County: New Jersey's Nucleus of Scientific Research," in *New Jersey Business,* November 1957, pp. 18-20.

"New and Expanded Industries in Monmouth County from 1945 to April, 1957 (Employing More than 50 Persons)," in *New Jersey Business,* May 1957, p. 19.

"New Freeways Enhance Adjacent Property Values," by John J. Magovern, Jr., in *The Realtor,* May 1957, pp. 8-10.

"New Jersey: a State in Transition" by Alfred H. Williams, in *New Jersey Business,* August 1957, pp. 22, 23, 25.

"A New Jersey Hieroglyph?" by Herbert L. Taylor, in *Bulletin of the Archeological Society of New Jersey,* May 1957, pp. 21-22.

"Newark's Industrial Future," by Albert C. Rachlin, in *The Realtor,* November 1957, pp. 8-11, 13.

"Pennsylvania in the Interstate Stampede for New Industry," in *New Jersey Business,* May 1957, pp. 28, 29, 35.

"The Powerful Case for Life Insurance," in *New Jersey Business,* Sept. 1957, pp. 26-27. In the summing up of a theoretical case, the multibillion-dollar life insurance industry justifies its existence in New Jersey with a multitude of overwhelming facts on the positive side.

"Pharmacy Features Rutgers Report," in *New Jersey Journal of Pharmacy,* October 1957, p. 20. History of Rutgers College of Pharmacy.

"The Prudential's Experience with Electronics," by Thomas Allsopp, in *Review of New Jersey Business,* July 1957, pp. 6, 7, 12, 13.

"Ripley—Hopping: a Tradition in Tall Timber," by John S. LeMaire, in *New Jersey Business,* August 1957, pp. 13-16. Newark timber firm founded 1845 by David Ripley.

"State Use Industries," in *The Psychogram,* September 1957, p. 12. New Jersey Taxpayers Association evaluates prison industrial program.

"The Typewriter Was a Novelty When the Prior Typewriter Company Went into Business Here in 1912," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton Magazine,* May 1957, pp. 4, 5.

"Unique in the Nation: New Jersey's 'Economic Ambassador,'" in *New Jersey Business,* Sept. 1957, pp. 16-17.

"The Water Shortage—Is It on the Level?" in *New Jersey Business,* May 1957, pp. 26, 27.

"Why Mutual Benefit . . . Chose Newark," in *New Jersey Business,* Sept. 1957, p. 25.

"Wildwood Motels: Big Business on the Beaches," in *New Jersey Business,* August 1957, pp. 18-19.

"Wrought Iron: an Ancient Craft with a New Twist," in *New Jersey Business,* May 1956, pp. 26-29.

Genealogy

"Books You Should Consult on Genealogy in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1957, pp. 157, 160. First of a series.

"Genealogical Records at the New Jersey Historical Society Library, Newark, N.J.," in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1957, p. 160.

"Some Corrections to Craig's 'Petersburg' and Additions, Brought by Time, to 'The Genealogy of the Lake Family,'" contributed by the associate editor, in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* January-April 1956, pp. 287-88.

"Some Morris County Family Origins," by Henry W. Pilch, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/Oct. 1956, pp. 73-74.

"Starting in to Gather Genealogical Data? Interested in Your Family History?" in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1957, pp. 158, 159, 161. Practical advice on methods and tools.

"William Graves of Newtown, L.I.," by S. Allyn Peck, in *American Genealogist,* July 1957, pp. 188-89. His descendants in Burlington Co., N.J.

History

"The Battle of Springfield, N.J., June 23, 1780: Skirmish (?) in Decisive Battle (?)," by Henry C. McMullen, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, pp. 174, 181 *ff.*

"Benjamin Morningstar," in *Relics,* June-July 1957, p. 9. Park Ridge inventor of forerunner of caterpillar tractor.

"Celebrating Independence Day," in *Relics,* June-July 1957, p. 1. Seventy-five years ago.

"A 'Crown-54' Pipe Fragment from Alpine Landing, N.J.," by Julius Lopez, in *Massachusetts Archaeological Society Bulletin,* April 1957.

"The Dowser," in *Relics,* June-July 1957, p. 9. Well-digging in the Pascack Valley.

"1800-1810 Map of 'South Mountain' Area of What Is Now Sections of Maplewood and Millburn," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, pp. 183, 184.

"An Exploratory Excavation at the Alpine Terrace Site, New Jersey," by Michael Cohn and Julius Lopez in *Archeological Society of New Jersey, News Letter,* October 1957, pp. 12-14. Relics of archaic hunting tribes in North Jersey.

"First Presbyterian Church at Hazen, N.J.," by Benjamin R. Pittenger, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, p. 182.

"Fort Mott State Park," by Alden T. Cottrell," in *New Jersey Recreation Development,* January 1958, p. 12.

"The Germans of Colonial New Jersey," by Hubert G. Schmidt, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, pp. 174-79. Final installment.

"Local Folklore," in *Relics,* June-July 1957, pp. 2-3. Witchcraft, devils and disease in the Pascack Valley.

"Members of the House of Assembly of '1686' of County of Gloucester," by Elmer G. Van Name, in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1957, p. 159.

"A Mystery!! What Did New Jersey Have To Do with Some 1,000,000 Acres of Ohio Land, and Why Was Deed Recorded in New Jersey?" in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1957, pp. 150, 161.

"New Jersey Blue Cross—a Quarter-Century of Service," in *New Jersey Business,* January 1958, pp. 24-26.

"Old-Time Picnics," in *Relics,* June-July 1957, p. 5. At Montvale, Westwood, Hackensack.

"Preacher Jim's Failure," in *Relics,* January 1958, pp. 2-5. Story of Preacher James Montanie, military courier from Dobbs Ferry to Morristown in the Revolution.

"Recent Accessions in Boston," by Kathryn C. Buhler, in *Antiques,* January 1958, pp. 50-53. Reading table of Newark-born Jonathan Odell, 1737-1818, acquired by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

"Save Our Important National Shrines!!! Washington's Headquarters at Morristown, N.J., in Danger by Encroachment of a State Highway," in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1957, p. 158.

"Solution of Workers' Medical Cost Problems Demonstrated by I.L.G. Center," in New *Jersey Labor Herald,* August 1957, p. 16. Newark Health center of International Ladies Garment Workers' Union provides annual health examinations and other services.

Round about New Jersey

"The Advantages of Maturity: Newark's Capital Investment—

$40,000 Per Family," in *New Jersey Business,* October 1957, p. 18.

"Bergen is First County to Make Annual Report to Its People on Film," by Walter Neill, in *New Jersey County Government,* May 1957, p. 27.

"Case City, U.S.—Nightmare or dream?," in *House and Home,* October 1957, p. 140. E. Trenton, New Jersey, is said to be the example in this article on deterioration of central cities.

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"The War between the States," by Joseph E. McLean, in *New Jersey Business,* Sept. 1957, pp. 18, 19, 32. A broad analysis of New Jersey's position on the (economic) firing line.

"Why a 'New' Newark?," by W. Paul Stillman, in *New Jersey Business,* October 1957, p. 15.

"Why Property Tax Revenues Are Not Sufficient Today," by Aaron K. Neeld, in *New Jersey Municipalities,* November 1957, pp. 49-51. The author is New Jersey state treasurer.

Decorative Arts

"Lafayette in the Decorative Arts," by John A. H. Sweeney, in *Antiques,* August 1957, pp. 136-40. Includes engravings by Peter Maverick the elder, and Samuel Maverick, Newark engraver.

"Lioneler's Paintings Exhibited in Caldwell" in *All Abroad at Lionel,* December 1956, p. 23. Frank R. Southard, of Essex Fells, exhibited paintings including his conception of Washington crossing the Delaware.

"Model for the Lafayet *(sic)* Salt?" in *Antiques,* August 1957, p. 155. Steamboat Lafayette, built at Mt. Holly, N.J., 1824.

Veterans' Buttons and Badges of the G. A. R.," by Beryl Taylor, in *Hobbies, the Magazine for Collectors,* June 1957, pp. 54, 62, 90. Illustrated with mementoes of N.J. regiments.

ANSWERS TO "TWENTY QUESTIONS ON NEW JERSEY"

If your score is

18-20 you rate superior in this game.
14-17 you rate excellent in this game.
10-13 you rate good in this game.
0-9 you have been watching TV too much.

1. All four. These are the only New Jerseyans who have served on the Court.

2. 1723. See PROCEEDINGS, April 1932.

3. The *Greyhound*.

4. Each of them was born in New Jersey: Sinatra (Hoboken), Mitchell (Elizabeth), Costello (Paterson), Miss Caulfield (West Orange), Schary (Newark).

5. In Newark: the "city subway," which runs in the old Morris Canal bed.

6. Burr, 1801-05, and Hobart, 1897-99. The late Mr. Edge narrowly missed nomination as Vice-President in 1920.

7. Sandy Hook. The *Half Moon* had also first entered Delaware Bay and sailed along the New Jersey coast.

8. More than 100. See PROCEEDINGS, July 1955.

9. A Frenchman, Jean Pierre Blanchard, flew in a balloon from Philadelphia to Deptford Township, Gloucester County, in 1793. He reached heights of more than a mile in the 46-minute trip.

10. Brokaw, Hill, and Crane.

11. Newell, a physician, who also served as Congressman and the first Republican governor of New Jersey.

12. Unlike many states, particularly the western ones, New Jersey has not retained its U.S. Senators for periods of twenty or more years. Senator McPherson served three terms (1877-93); Senator Dickerson for sixteen years (1817-33); Senator Smith will complete more than fourteen years when he retires on January 3, 1959.

13. The Dutch called the Delaware the South River, the Hudson the North River.

14. Eleven thousand, according to John T. Cunningham in *Made in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1954).

15. Howard.

16. Millville.

17. A large cupboard used before closets were standard features of houses. The Society owns one which stands in the hall opposite the cloakroom.

18. Annapolis. Both Dover and Wilmington are north of Cape May.

19. New Haven. Yonkers is south and Poughkeepsie north of High Point.

20. Newark.

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